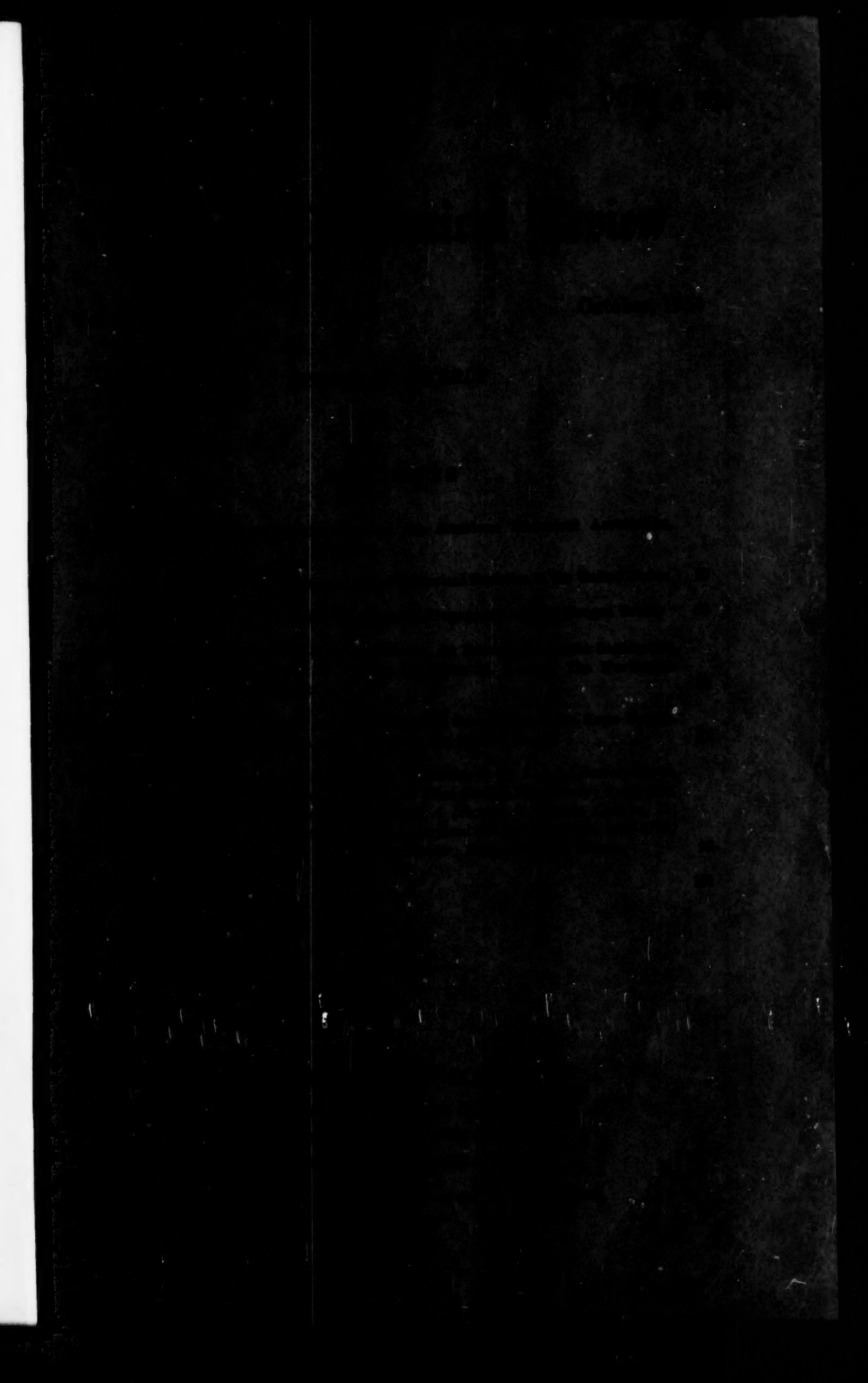

Volume XL] *October, 1934* [*Number 1*

The

American Historical Review

EARLY DAYS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1884–1895

At a luncheon, when the American Historical Association was holding its fortieth annual meeting, being asked as one of the "charter members" to say something, I said that what was expected from the elders at a feast was advice and reminiscences; that I should give advice (which I did, and it was received with exemplary patience), but my reminiscences I should reserve for the fiftieth anniversary. My auditors were visibly amused at such assurance, but I am still extant, and Dr. Bourne asks me for my reminiscences of the society's earlier days. The fallibility of old men's recollections is, however, familiar ground among historical students, and I cannot help knowing that a better narrative, based on documents and nearer remembrances, is to be found in an article I contributed to this journal twenty-five years ago.[1]

It would be difficult for the younger members of the Association to imagine the status of history in the United States in 1884. There were a few historians—Bancroft and Parkman and Lea—historians in the real sense, not in the pompous language of the newspapers, which at the time of any of our conventions call us all "historians". But in the curricula of our schools and colleges history had but a very slight place. No young woman intending to be a school-teacher thought of such a thing as preparing herself by special courses to teach history. Any of the teachers in the school could do that, as an incident to her work in the more serious studies; it was only to hold the textbook and hear the class "recite". The textbooks were mostly wretched. School libraries were almost unknown. Fewer than twenty American colleges had professors of history—good teachers almost all, but only five or six of them what could be called productive scholars. I remember well that, in the spring of 1882, of five Eastern universities that between them now have some twenty-five professors of history, one had one such

[1] The American Historical Association, 1884–1909, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XV, 1–20.

teacher, three were thinking of acquiring one, and the fifth was, to all appearance, not even thinking of it. On the twenty-second of February in that year, President Eliot, in an address at the Johns Hopkins University, speaking of the inequality of attention paid to different subjects in American colleges and universities, told how two promising young men had lately come to him and asked him if, in his judgment, it would be wise for them to give themselves a special preparation with a view to becoming professors of history. "I was obliged to tell them", said he, "that under existing circumstances it would be the height of imprudence."

Equally difficult will it be for the younger element to imagine the defectiveness of the apparatus then existing for historical work. In American history, for instance, imagine trying to work without even Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History,* to say nothing of the helps and instruments since created! The only historical journal not merely local was the *Magazine of American History.* Historical societies were few, feeble mostly, and myopic. Archives of the modern type did not exist.

But the late eighties and the early nineties saw a great advance in the pursuit of history in the United States. The causes of this advance were various. The most fundamental, no doubt, was the heightened sense of national importance and unity that followed upon the period of Civil War and Reconstruction. Not a little of the impulse, however, came from Germany—that old Germany of disinterested scholarship and quaint, unworldly professors which seems to have disappeared, but to which in the seventies and eighties the élite of American students flocked in impressive numbers, and from which they returned with eager ambition to raise American scholarship to higher levels.

With all this went an impulse toward the formation of national societies of specialists. A dozen such—of chemists, archæologists, engineers, students of modern languages, of history, of economics, of geology, of mathematics—came into existence between 1876 and 1888. Their growth and flourishing have made an immense difference in American scholarship and science. Men of learning and of science are now grouped in definite professions, with the influence and encouragement that come from such combination, where fifty years ago they were isolated. I remember an evening in 1888 when nearly all the professors of history in southern New England happened to be brought together, and it was made evident that in only a few instances were any two of them acquainted with each other.

The first suggestion of such an organization as the American His-

torical Association seems to have come from President Daniel C. Gilman of the Johns Hopkins University. The main influence in bringing it into existence was that of Herbert B. Adams, the young and resourceful professor of history in that institution, who however had valuable co-operation from Professor Moses Coit Tyler of Cornell University and from Charles Kendall Adams, then professor of history in the University of Michigan, afterward president of Cornell and of the University of Wisconsin. The president and secretary of the American Social Science Association, with these three, signed the call for the gathering, and it took place at Saratoga in September, 1884, because that was the time and place of the annual meeting of that society, under whose ægis the new organization was to be formed. Indeed, the officers of that body manifested some desire that it should be a section or affiliate of the Social Science Association, but independence naturally prevailed.

Forty-one men founded the American Historical Association, on September 10, 1884, of whom only five are now living.[2] The list of names reflects the origins which have been described, and some differences of those times from these. The relation to the Social Science Association explains the presence of its president, John Eaton, United States commissioner of education, and of William T. Harris, his predecessor in that office, of an ex-President of the United States, President Hayes, of Colonel Carroll D. Wright, and presumably of General Francis A. Walker, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and of a few other men of affairs. Of the forty-one, nine were professors of history (or of history and something else, after the fashion of those times): C. K. Adams of Michigan, H. B. Adams of the Johns Hopkins, Emerton of Harvard, Johnston of Princeton, Rice of Williams, Scott of Rutgers, Thomas of Haverford, Tuttle and Tyler of Cornell; President White of Cornell had been a professor of history; and there were half a dozen youngsters that hoped to be made professors in due time. Two of the company were librarians, Justin Winsor of Harvard and Judge Mellen Chamberlain of the Boston Public Library. Others were officers of state historical societies, such as Dr. Charles Deane, vice-president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose modesty and gentle kindness toward younger scholars made as deep an impression upon the present writer as his great learning in New England history.

More significant, really, than the roll of those who happened to at-

[2] Clarence W. Bowen, Davis R. Dewey, Ephraim Emerton, Henry E. Scott, and the writer.

tend that first meeting at the United States Hotel is the list of those who enrolled for membership in the first few months after the society's formation. That first list shows already 220 names, including, along with nearly every collegiate teacher of history in the country, the names of Charles Francis Adams, Henry Adams, John Bigelow, Charles J. Bonaparte, George W. Cable, George William Curtis, President Gilman, Colonel Higginson, Senator Hoar, Henry Cabot Lodge, Charles Eliot Norton, Francis Parkman, the youthful Woodrow Wilson, and the aged Robert C. Winthrop. In little more than a year there were nearly four hundred members. Evidently the project of such an organization appealed to many others in America than simply the professional teachers of history, and the new society took root fast.

But to return to that first meeting at Saratoga. Organization was perfected by electing President Andrew D. White as president, Justin Winsor and C. K. Adams as vice presidents, Herbert B. Adams as secretary, and as treasurer Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, who served as such for a third of a century, and whose genial presence added to the pleasure of more than thirty meetings. All who rejoice in the society's present impressive resources should remember that he from the beginning, with Coolidgean prudence, taught it to save money.

A program of papers had been arranged which, as it seems to me, would do credit to any present day session of the Association. President White's address on Studies in General History and the History of Civilization is good reading even now, and in essentials good doctrine for a generation which, after an age of minute specialization, is turning back to generalized views. Other subjects considered were, the origins of New England town government (Channing), the founders of New Haven (Levermore), Thomas Paine (Tyler), Federal land-grants for education in the Old Northwest (G. W. Knight), constitutional growth in the United States (Austin Scott), and the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Kuno Francke).

So the society was launched on "the full tide of successful experiment". The second meeting was held in September, 1885, in the parish house of Bethesda Church, Saratoga. It was marked by a notable discourse by Goldwin Smith on the Political History of Canada, and one by President White on the History of the Doctrine respecting Comets, a *Vorschrift* of his *History of the Warfare of Science and Theology*. Eugene Schuyler's paper on Materials for American History in Foreign Archives foreshadowed what has since been an important line of American historical investigation.

The third meeting, however, held at Washington in April, 1886, seems to have left a much larger impression upon my mind. No doubt this is in large part due to the vivid interest with which a beginner in history saw the venerable figure of George Bancroft, second president of the Association, presiding at various of the sessions. Born in the last months of the eighteenth century (October 3, 1800), he was now in his eighty-sixth year, but so vigorous that when Herbert Adams, secretary, went to his house on H Street to see if he felt equal to the duties of presiding, he showed the young man, with sprightly complacency, that he could still go up stairs two at a time. He had lately finished, at the age of eighty-two, his *History of the Formation and Adoption of the Constitution*. We looked upon him as the personal embodiment of the historic spirit in the United States. I remember Mr. Henry Adams saying in those days that when he wished to capture any little fact in American history he had only to drop a card to his neighbor Mr. Bancroft.

The sessions of this meeting were held in the building of the Columbian (now George Washington) University, on the very spot where, ten stories higher up, the offices of the Association were situated from 1912 to 1929 (1140 Woodward Building). Among other papers, an interesting one was read by Professor Moses Coit Tyler on a theme on which much eloquent reproach might still be expended, the Neglect and Destruction of Historical Materials in this country.

One of the best effects of such a society was the bringing together of historical students of the North and the South—indeed of all sections of the country, but it will be remembered that the Civil War was then only twenty-one years in the past. No papers more thoroughly interested the hearers than that on the Pope Campaign before Washington in 1862, by Colonel William Allan, one of the finest spirits of the Civil War time, who had been chief of ordnance to Stonewall Jackson, and that of Major Jed. Hotchkiss, who had been topographical engineer on the staffs of Lee, Jackson, Ewell, and Early, and who, sketching rapidly with colored crayons on a large blackboard, described most graphically Jackson's campaign in the Valley of Virginia and the ways in which intimate local knowledge of the topography had helped the Confederates.

It is remembered with what enthusiasm Mr. Bancroft grasped hands with the Confederate officer and congratulated him upon his effective talk; also how, when a young Harvard man had read a paper on Jefferson's Use of the Executive Patronage, the presiding officer called to the platform Mr. Henry Adams, then at work upon his classical *History of*

the United States under Jefferson, and persuaded him to discuss the paper.

Mr. Bancroft had presided with vigor and promptitude, beginning the sessions on the minute, "for", said he, "I am a minuteman". At the end of the last session the scholarly Senator Hoar, seconding a motion made by another resident of Washington, expressive of gratification that the Association had held its meeting there, added, with the old-time eloquence of which he was such a master: "Especially noteworthy and memorable is the opportunity which this meeting has given of seeing you, Mr. President, and meeting you here surrounded by, and presiding over, this body of students of history. I know of no scholar living, and of none dead unless it may be Gibbon, other than yourself, to whom it has been given to undertake in his youth the history of a great empire, and after sixty years to see that undertaking completed and become a classic. Gibbon wrote of the loss of liberty, the decay and fall of a nation; you wrote of the establishment of liberty on a virgin soil, of the founding and growth and vigorous life of a nation, which you leave at the end of its first century full of promise of a continued and yet grander existence. And I repeat, sir, we shall never forget that we have had the honor and pleasure to meet you and see you here."

A still greater historical veteran passed across the stage, in a way, at the time of the same meeting. The Association, at its second meeting, had elected, as its sole honorary member, Leopold von Ranke. Bancroft had notified him of the election in terms of affectionate regard. Ranke's note of acceptance, full of good will toward the new society of transatlantic colleagues, so many of whom revered him as the chief master of their profession, was read at this third meeting; he died in the ensuing April, at the ripe age of ninety, to which indeed Bancroft also attained.

When the Association held its fifth meeting, in December, 1888, again in Washington, in the halls of the Columbian University, it was announced that an act of incorporation had passed the two houses of Congress, in the Senate through the efforts of Senator Hoar, in the House through those of James Phelan of Tennessee, a young Ph.D. of Leipzig. The act received the signature of President Cleveland on January 4, 1889. Its terms and results are familiar. The meeting of December, 1889, was also held in Washington. A young man named Theodore Roosevelt, then one of the civil service commissioners, gave a spirited address on the Westward Movement during the Revolutionary War, and, in response to some exceptions taken, defended his statements in a lively discussion.

Subsequent meetings were held in Washington till that of December, 1895. That meeting marks in two respects a memorable point in the history of the Association. First, the council then established the first of the society's standing committees, called the Historical Manuscripts Commission after its British model, and designed to collect information respecting, and in suitable cases to print, manuscripts of historical interest in private hands. Quite apart from the remarkable series of publications which in successive years have emanated from that committee or commission, the step then taken is memorable because the work of the many standing committees since established has formed the Association's main title to recognition and gratitude as an agency for furthering historical scholarship. The all-the-year-round work of committees, composed of the most active members of the society, is naturally more effective in the advancement of our science than the mere holding of meetings and reading of papers once a year.

The truth is, that by 1895 the Association was showing the effects of a life almost confined to annual paper-reading. The varied activities which now keep so many members interested were lacking. The growth in numbers had slackened. The meetings, held year after year in Washington, a city by no means central to the membership and much less attractive then than now, were far from drawing as large an attendance as might reasonably have been expected. A few sagacious members, chiefly George B. Adams of Yale, Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard, and William A. Dunning of Columbia, perceived the remedy, agreed on action, and carried out a mild revolution. This was nothing else than to resolve that the society should go back to the itinerancy which it had observed before Federal incorporation, and hold its annual meetings in various cities—New York in 1896, Cleveland in 1897, New Haven in 1898, etc. Herbert Adams the secretary, to whom the society was more largely indebted than to anyone else, opposed the change, valuing the Washington connection and fearing to see it endangered, but he was by nature conciliatory and with good grace allowed himself to be overruled, and indeed the revolters carried out their revolution with gentleness and consideration, a model for any subsequent insurgents.

By these two improvements in procedure, and by the relation established in 1898 with the *American Historical Review,* the practices of the Association acquired in all essentials the form and character which they have ever since retained. The purveyor of reminiscence may well stop at this point. Some later chronicler may continue the narrative of 1909 already alluded to, telling the amusing tale of the insurgents of 1915—so eager for the maintenance of the Eighth Commandment that they

forgot all about the Ninth; the inspiring story of the effective campaigns of 1927 and 1928 for increase of endowment; the courageous expedients for meeting the Carnegie Institution's withdrawal of the aid it had indirectly given since 1903; and all the other incidents of the life of an active and growing organism. Here it may suffice to append, for reference as chronological landmarks, such a list of annual meetings and presidents as was given, for earlier years, twenty-five years ago.

May the American Historical Association surpass the years of the Society of Antiquaries, or the Swedish and Spanish Academies of History. *Esto perpetua!*

J. Franklin Jameson.

The Library of Congress.

List of Annual Meetings, 1909–1933, and of Presidents of the Association, with the subjects of their addresses. The earlier list is to be found in this journal, XV, 10–11.

25. New York City, December, 1909. Albert Bushnell Hart. "Imagination in History".

26. Indianapolis, December, 1910. Frederick J. Turner. "Social Forces in American History".

27. Buffalo and Ithaca, December, 1911. William M. Sloane. "The Substance and Vision in History".

28. Boston, December, 1912. Theodore Roosevelt. "History as Literature".

29. Charleston and Columbia, December, 1913. William A. Dunning. "Truth in History".

30. Chicago, December, 1914. Andrew C. McLaughlin. "American History and American Democracy".

31. Washington, December, 1915. H. Morse Stephens. "Nationality and History".

[Additional meeting, San Francisco, Berkeley, Palo Alto, July, 1915.]

32. Cincinnati, December, 1916. George L. Burr. "The Freedom of History".

33. Philadelphia, December, 1917. Worthington C. Ford. "The Editorial Function in American History".

34. Cleveland, December, 1919. William R. Thayer. "Recent Fallacies in History".

[This meeting was first scheduled for December, 1918, but was deferred on account of the severity of an epidemic of influenza.]

35. Washington, December, 1920. Edward Channing. "An Historical Retrospect".

36. St. Louis, December, 1921. Jean Jules Jusserand. "The Rearing of Ambassadors" [printed as "The School for Ambassadors"].

37. New Haven, December, 1922. Charles H. Haskins. "European History and American Scholarship".

38. Columbus, December, 1923. Edward P. Cheyney. "Law in History".

39. Richmond, December, 1924. Charles M. Andrews, acting president. "These Forty Years".

[In December, 1923, Woodrow Wilson was elected president, but he died on February 3, 1924.]

40. Ann Arbor, December, 1925. Charles M. Andrews. "The American Revolution: an Interpretation".

41. Rochester, December, 1926. Dana C. Munro. "War and History".

42. Washington, December, 1927. Henry Osborn Taylor. "A Layman's View of History".

43. Indianapolis, December, 1928. James H. Breasted. "The New Crusade".

44. Durham and Chapel Hill, December, 1929–January, 1930. James Harvey Robinson. "The Newer Ways of Historians".

45. Boston and Cambridge, December, 1930. Evarts B. Greene. "Persistent Problems of Church and State".

46. Minneapolis, December, 1931. Carl Becker. "Everyman his own Historian".

47. Toronto, December, 1932. Herbert E. Bolton. "The Epic of Greater America".

48. Urbana, December, 1933. Charles A. Beard. "Written History as an Act of Faith".

STATE AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Not all historians have been so gentle as Sir Walter Scott in ridiculing the Jonathan Oldbucks who "made plans of ruined castles, read illegible inscriptions, and wrote essays upon medals in the proportion of twelve pages to each letter in the legend". The early reports of the American Historical Association contain much criticism of the work and publications of local historians and local historical societies, no less justifiable than it was sometimes scathing. One of the stanchest and most scholarly friends of local historical activity recently said that "Of all categories of historical writing in America county histories are probably the worst",[1] and it was a president of the Massachusetts Historical Society by the name of Adams who declared that half of the publications of American historical societies could be swept from library shelves with no appreciable loss to learning.[2]

Yet, if the rise of the scientific method in the last century brought discontent with the standards of historical societies, it also brought a keen sense of the value of local history. In England Edward A. Freeman often acknowledged his indebtedness to John Richard Green for the stimulating suggestion of town history as reflecting the forces at work in the state at large, and both of them, together with Bishop Stubbs and York Powell, were among the founders of the Oxford Historical Society.[3] In America in the same decade Herbert B. Adams founded a school devoted to the study of local origins, which, though based upon a viewpoint now outmoded, did much to focus the attention of leading historical scholars upon local units of society. It remained, however, for the so-called social historians of recent years to make the most of this field. In 1921 Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox set forth the ablest statement of appreciation from this viewpoint.[4] Not the least valuable

[1] Dixon Ryan Fox, Local Historical Societies in the United States, *Canadian Hist. Rev.*, XIII (1932), 266.

[2] Charles F. Adams, *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, XXXIV (1910), 305; *cf.* his Historians and Historical Societies, Massachusetts Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., XIII (1899), 81–119.

[3] John Richard Green, *A Short History of the English People*, ch. II, sec. vi; George W. Prothero, Historical Societies in Great Britain, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1909, p. 237.

[4] State History, *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, XXXVI (1921), 572–585; see also State History, II, *ibid.*, XXXVII (1922), 99–118.

element in the Turner thesis was its emphasis upon the value of local and regional studies. More recently, economic and business historians have made much of what might be called the microscopic method. Indeed, local history seems to be verging upon what once would have been described as a state of mind: in a single issue of the *Canadian Historical Review* an American scholar declared that 'State' history might reasonably be regarded as local, while a British historian declared that all national history was such.[5]

Equally divergent viewpoints may be adopted toward the work of state and local historical societies: one may measure it by high standards of scholarship and find much of it defective, or one may compare it with a void and be grateful that so much has been done. More fatally mistaken than either of these viewpoints, however, is the attitude of the historian who regards historical societies as institutions with which he has no concern save perhaps to mete out censure when they fail to supply his needs, for a review of the history of these organizations in the United States may reveal the fact that a part of the responsibility for unscientific methods, antiquarianism, wrong emphasis, and tendencies toward family and local pride may be his own by reason of his detachment. For nearly a century before the founding of the American Historical Association these state and local societies provided almost the sole channels for effective promotion of historical study in the United States; they received the support of such leading historians as Bancroft, Sparks, Motley, Parkman, and others; and it was one of the unfortunate consequences of the founding of the national body that much of the best talent in the subordinate groups transferred its allegiance to the larger association of scholars. Certainly in this anniversary year as never before there is a need for renewed consideration of these societies which in a real sense may share some of the honor of creating the American Historical Association.[6]

John Pintard, a public-spirited New Yorker, has been called the "Father of historical societies".[7] Recognized more by the historians of

[5] Fox, *Canadian Hist. Rev.*, XIII (1932), 263–267; D. C. Harvey, The Importance of Local History in the Writing of General History, *ibid.*, 244–250.

[6] The origin of the Conference of Historical Societies in 1904 was explained as "due . . . primarily to the fact that so many members of the national association had been recruited from those whose earlier ties lay with the State or local historical societies". St. George L. Sioussat, The Conference of Historical Societies, 1904–1909, A. H. A., *An. Rep.*, 1909, pp. 281–282.

[7] *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography;* Martha J. Lamb, *History of the City of New York* (New York, 1880), II, 508; James Grant Wilson, *John Pintard, Founder of the New York Historical Society* (New York, 1902).

New York than by those of Massachusetts, his parenthood is supposed to have begun about 1789 when he suggested to the Reverend Jeremy Belknap, Ebenezer Hazard, and doubtless to others, the desirability of forming an American antiquarian society, to be modeled on the famous Society of Antiquaries of London and its younger sister society of Edinburgh.[8] Pintard deserves praise for many useful accomplishments, among them that of fostering the New York Historical Society, but it is to be doubted whether the ancestry of the seven or eight hundred historical associations, societies, and clubs engaged in preserving the materials of history and promoting its study in the United States should be placed upon so narrow a basis. If it were, others might claim equal credit. "'A Congress of Philosophers' is a pretty thought", Hazard had remarked to Belknap as early as 1780, and his suggestion was essentially the same as that made by Pintard nine years later.[9] Some Boston gentlemen also advanced the idea of a historical society at about the same time that Pintard did, and in 1803 one of Pintard's associates, Dr. Samuel Miller, gave Judge William Tudor credit for first making such a suggestion to Jeremy Belknap.[10]

A more intangible but perhaps more authentic parentage existed in the *Zeitgeist* of the eighteenth century. The prevalent spirit of inquiry demanded a catholic curiosity of men of learning. Benjamin Franklin's unflagging interest in everything from electricity to methods of sweeping chimneys was perhaps no less a product of his times than of his own genius. Others less known to fame—the Elliotts, Mitchills, Muhlenbergs, Hosacks, Rittenhouses, and Bartrams—exhibited a similar catholicity of interests. Even as a United States senator Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill might have been engaged in "deciphering a Babylonian brick, studying the character of meteoric stones . . . offering suggestions concerning the angle of a windmill or the shape of a gridiron, advising with Michaux on the beauty of black walnut for parlor furniture, investigating bivalves and discoursing on conchology with Dr. Samuel Akerly".[11] Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth's fictitious bibliophile, James Loveday, did not at

[8] Massachusetts Hist. Soc., *Collections*, 5th ser., vol. III, pt. 2, p. 157.

[9] Hazard to Belknap, Feb. 18, 1780, *ibid.*, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 34.

[10] Miller referred to Belknap, William Tudor, and John Eliot as being "more entitled to the honour of being called its founders than any other individuals". *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, etc., II, 261. In a footnote Miller added: "Dr. Belknap . . . first urged the adoption of some plan for collecting and preserving the numerous historical documents, relating to our country, and especially to New-England, which were widely scattered, and rapidly falling a prey to the destroying hand of time. He was zealously seconded by Judge Tudor, who first proposed the formation of a society for this purpose".

[11] Lamb, II, 513. Mitchill was a member of many learned societies of Europe.

all betray "an unbelievable range of interests" [12] in the selection of his American library of the 1750's.

At a time when correspondence took the place of learned periodicals, it was natural that this prevailing spirit of inquiry should lead to the formation of academies and societies. "The eighteenth century", said Dr. Miller, "is pre-eminently remarkable for multiplying these associations. . . . the increased intercourse and connection among the learned, by means of the establishment of academies and societies, ought to be considered as holding a place among the most important sources of modern improvements in science".[13] The formation of Franklin's Junto in 1727 and of the American Philosophical Society in 1743 were forerunners of the movement in which so-called scientific societies for the improvement of painting, music, sculpture, belles-lettres, medicine, manufacturing, and agriculture were founded. "The spirit of inquiry is awake", wrote Charles Thomson in 1768, "and nothing seems wanting but a public Society . . . to . . . unite the labours of many to attain one grand end".[14] It was not until 1815 that the American Philosophical Society created its committee for literature and history, but these early societies, including the American Academy of Arts and Sciences founded in Boston in 1780 and the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences at New Haven in 1799, contained within themselves the germ from which later sprang the societies specializing in what was called "American antiquities".

These, of course, were but American echoes of what the spirit of inquiry had wrought in eighteenth century Europe. D'Alembert's *Discours préliminaire* in 1754 had inaugurated a new interest in all of the sciences, strengthening the existing academies and stimulating the creation of new societies. To be sure, societies for the study of history had existed before the eighteenth century; the great Society of Antiquaries of London had begun its existence as early as 1572, but it had been dissolved by James I early in the seventeenth century and was not revived until about 1707. The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland came into existence in 1780, while most of the other notable English historical societies and "printing clubs" followed in the wake of the

[12] George P. Winship in reviewing Wroth's *An American Bookshelf, 1755* (Philadelphia, 1934) in *American Literature*, VI, 217.

[13] *Op. cit.* II, 257–259.

[14] American Philosophical Society, *Proc.*, III (1843), 18; on the growth of learned societies in Europe, with rather undue emphasis upon the Masonic influence, see Bernard Faÿ, Learned Societies in Europe and America in the Eighteenth Century, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII (1932), 255–266.

rebirth of historical inquiry in France and Germany after the Napoleonic wars—the Roxburghe Club in 1813, the Maitland Club in 1820, the Bannatyne Club in 1823, the Surtees Society in 1835, the Chetham Society in 1843, and the Hakluyt Society in 1846.[15] Such societies in the Netherlands date from the last half of the eighteenth century. The founding of the Hollandsche Maatschappij van Wetenschappen at Haarlem in 1752 began the movement which resulted in the establishment of notable historical groups, particularly in such university centers as Utrecht and Groningen.[16] In France the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres was established in 1663 though most of the societies devoted solely to history came into being in the early years of the nineteenth century—the Académie celtique in 1804, the École des chartres in 1821, the Société de l'histoire de France in 1831, the Société française d'archéologie in 1831, and the Comité des travaux historiques in 1834.[17] The outstanding Spanish societies also date from the eighteenth century: the Royal Academy of Belles-Lettres of Barcelona (1729), the Royal Academy of Madrid (1738), the Royal Academy of Belles-Lettres of Seville (1751), and the Society of National History (1790).[18] It is significant that Isaiah Thomas, in projecting his plan for a national society of antiquaries, cited the useful work of similar societies in England, Scotland, Sweden, and Italy.[19]

But Puritanism also presided at the birth of American historical societies. Deriving its sustenance from the same sources that gave New England such a prominent place in our historiography, the Massachusetts Historical Society, first of a numerous body, included four ministers among its eight founders in 1791. "There never was a period", said Dr. Samuel Miller, "in which *Antiquities* were so extensively and successfully investigated; and every step of this investigation has served to illustrate and support the sacred volume."[20] The theistic interpretation of history, by implication enjoining its study as a solemn obligation, was an integral part of the Puritan mind. "If", said the noblest Roman

[15] A. Hume, *The Learned Societies and Printing Clubs of the United Kingdom* (London, 1853); F. M. Powicke, English Local Historical Societies, *Canadian Hist. Rev.*, XIII (1932), 257–263; Prothero, A. H. A., *An. Rep.*, 1909, pp. 229–242.

[16] H. T. Colenbrander, The Work of Dutch Historical Societies, *ibid.*, pp. 243–256.

[17] Camille Enlart, The Historical Societies of France, *ibid.*, pp. 257–266.

[18] Rafael Altamira, The Work of Historical Societies in Spain, *ibid.*, pp. 267–277.

[19] American Antiquarian Society, *Proc.*, 1812–1849 (Worcester, 1912), pp. 15–16. The first public address of the New York Historical Society likewise pointed out the advantages that scientific societies had given to European nations, *Coll.*, I (1809), p. 6.

[20] *Op. cit.*, II, 148.

of them all, "you will but listen reverently, you may hear the receding centuries as they roll into the dim distances of departed time, perpetually chanting *'Te Deum Laudamus'*, with all the choral voices of the countless congregations of the ages." [21] Nurtured, moreover, in a society where law and order were recognized to be essentially products of the past, New Englanders had a keen sense of the value of backgrounds as a discipline of the present. That it was chiefly these two factors and not altogether a provincial pride in local and ancestral achievement that impelled the Puritan so notably to the study of history is indicated by his influence in the spread of historical societies in America. A New Hampshire youth, Jonathan Peter Cushing, who went South and became president of Hampden-Sydney, was the chief founder of the Virginia Historical Society in 1831.[22] That Old Mortality of the Allegheny frontier, Lyman C. Draper, though born in western New York, had a Puritan ancestry going back five generations. Two of the principal founders of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio were Samuel P. Hildreth and Benjamin Tappan, both born in Massachusetts. It was another migrant son of New Hampshire, Lewis Cass, who in 1828 founded the short-lived Michigan Historical Society and who became the first president of the equally short-lived American Historical Society founded by Peter Force at Washington in 1835. James Hall, a distinguished figure in the early literary history of the Mississippi Valley and the founder of the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois in 1827, was born in Massachusetts. Orlando C. Howe and Josiah Bushnell Grinnell, two of the founders of the Iowa Historical Society, were both born in Vermont. The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, though situated in one of the most cosmopolitan areas in America, has remained since 1858 fundamentally a New England institution. The New England societies formed in New York, Charleston, and elsewhere in the early nineteenth century were also interested somewhat in history.[23] It is needless to multiply instances in which New Englanders undertook the study of the history of such states as Virginia and Iowa as eagerly as if they were Massachusetts or Vermont. A fact which remains substantially true to the present time is that historical societies were most

[21] George Bancroft, *The Necessity, the Reality, and the Promise of the Progress of the Human Race* (New York, 1854), p. 16.

[22] Joseph D. Eggleston, Jonathan Peter Cushing, *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, XXXIX (1931), 289–291.

[23] William Way, *History of the New England Society of Charleston, 1819–1919* (Charleston, 1920).

numerous and drew the widest support within the areas covered by the New England expansion; the Southern states have never, until very recent years, revealed a commensurate interest in such institutions.

Patriotism, too, played a part in the formation of these early societies. Looking forward to a history that would be fruitful in "recitals of heroic actions and in images of resplendent virtues", John Romeyn Brodhead declared: "There may, possibly, be some among our citizens, disposed to weigh Dollars against Documents, and utter a cold and calculating *Cui-bono?* Why this ransacking of old cupboards for dusty documents? Why this tender care of old, worm-eaten papers? . . . To such—if such there be—we . . . make but one reply. Because we love our country".[24] The rapid spread and the character of the work of historical societies in the years following the gaining of independence, the framing of the state constitutions, and the establishment of the Federal Constitution indicate that the feeling of patriotism speeded their growth. But whether it was European academic influence, Puritan interest in history, or nationalism that provided the germinating influences, it remains one of the outstanding phenomena of American historiography that, in less than a century and a half, nearly a thousand organizations devoted to the study of state and local history have been founded. If all had had the rich history vouchsafed Jeremy Belknap's venture, we could indeed give recital to "heroic actions . . . and resplendent virtues".

The Massachusetts Historical Society did not evolve as an American society of antiquarians such as Pintard had hoped for. Though wide interests were served from the beginning by a local organization, its founders wisely concluded to undertake a less ambitious plan. Pintard had suggested the idea to Belknap and Hazard late in the summer of 1789, but it was not until August, 1790, that Belknap drew up what amounts to a charter of the historical society movement.[25] Hazard approved Pintard's scheme for a national society; "but where", he wrote Belknap, "will you find a sufficiency of members of suitable abilities and leisure? Where will jarring interests suffer the Musæum to be kept?" [26] At any rate Belknap's "Plan for an Antiquarian Society" looked to the

[24] *An Address delivered before the New York Historical Society, at its Fortieth Anniversary, by John Romeyn Brodhead, 20th November, 1844 . . . with an account of the Subsequent Proceedings* (New York, 1844), p. 46.

[25] This document is reproduced in facsimile in the Massachusetts Hist. Soc., *Coll.*, 5th ser., vol. III, pt. 2, p. 231; J. Belknap, *Life of Jeremy Belknap* (New York, 1847), pp. 185–187.

[26] Hazard to Belknap, Oct. 3, 1790. Massachusetts Hist. Soc., *Coll.*, 5th ser., vol. III, pt. 2, p. 237.

establishment of a state rather than a national institution. Nevertheless, he conceived a nation-wide plan of state historical societies with uniform standards. "Letters shall be written to gentlemen in each of the United States", his prospectus declared, "requesting them to form similar societies; and a correspondence shall be kept up between them for the purpose of communicating discoveries to each other. Each society through the United States shall be desired from time to time to publish such of their communications as they may judge proper; and all publications shall be . . . of the same size, that they may be bound together, and each society so publishing shall be desired to send gratuitously to each of the other societies one dozen copies at least of each publication".[27] In this provision for the exchange of multiple copies and in Hazard's remark concerning men of "suitable abilities and leisure", we have an indication of the nature of the early historical societies. They were to be academies for the exchange of facts and ideas among recognized men of learning; Belknap's prospectus called for a membership of seven but this was soon extended to thirty. The American Antiquarian Society was, and yet remains, an American academy of historians in the best sense. Indeed, the academy idea persisted and was debated with some warmth at the founding of the American Historical Association.[28]

The early history of the Massachusetts Historical Society is typical of the experience of most of the other older societies. The society first occupied a single room in what was called the Manufactory House; in 1792 it was removed to an attic chamber in Faneuil Hall; in 1794 a room over the sally port of the Tontine Crescent was purchased, and here the society remained for about four decades. Twelve green Windsor chairs, a plain pine table, and some shelves made up the first furnishings. A salaried librarian could not be afforded, and each member was expected to enter titles of borrowed books on a slate kept for that purpose; it is not surprising, therefore, that some of the titles in the first catalogue are not now in the society's possession. Each of the founders agreed to give a number of books for the library, and a system of exchange also helped to build up the collections; in 1796 some marine shells were traded for Copley's portrait of Governor Hutchinson. In that year the society's first published catalogue contained about a thousand titles of unbound books, pamphlets, newspapers, and manu-

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 231; J. Belknap, p. 186.

[28] J. Franklin Jameson, The American Historical Association, 1884–1909, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XV (1909), 6.

scripts.[29] Most heroic of all was the determination with which the society began and sustained its long file of publications. With the help of Belknap's son a weekly newspaper in octavo form, *The American Apollo,* was established, and in each issue from four to eight pages of historical material, paged separately, were added; thus in less than a year some two hundred pages of the first volume of *Collections* had been printed. These were small beginnings, but few societies of a later date have equaled these early institutions in their perception of the need of preserving materials of their own generation for the future. "My last excursion", wrote Belknap in 1795, "was to Lebanon, in Connecticut, to collect the MSS. . . . of the late Governour Trumbull . . . and I believe we shall be able to give the public a rich repast from them. We expect some from Governour Hancock's; and when our old patriot S[amuel] A[dams]'s head is laid, we hope to get more. There is nothing like having a *good repository,* and keeping a *good look-out,* not waiting at home for things to fall into the lap, but prowling about like a wolf for the prey."[30] Such was the philosophy of the spiritual ancestor of Draper, Thwaites, and a host of other successful promoters of historical activity.

More than a decade passed before other groups in other states followed Belknap's modest but auspicious example. To be sure, in 1790 the ever-active Pintard, as Sagamore of the Society of St. Tammany, had endeavored to engraft a historical library and museum upon that social and charitable organization, but despite the fact that its quarters in the City Hall became one of the show places in the city, it did nothing to fulfill Pintard's dream of an academy of scholars.[31] In 1804, however, Pintard interested a remarkable group of New Yorkers in founding the New York Historical Society. The Massachusetts Historical Society was recognized as a model, but it was not many years until a speaker before this new society could declare with some defiance that the eagle "that bears 'Excelsior' in his beak was fledged in his own soil. He never began his soarings from Plymouth Rock. He dressed his plumage in our own lakes, and his pinions were nerved in the air of our own

[29] Samuel Abbott Green, *Origin and Growth of the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Cambridge, 1893).

[30] Belknap to Hazard, Aug. 21, 1795. Massachusetts Hist. Soc., *Coll.,* 5th ser., vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 356–357.

[31] Frank Monaghan in *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1933), IV, 350; Edwin P. Kilroe, *Saint Tammany and the Origin of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York* (New York, 1913).

mountains".[32] Thus to the direct influence of New Englanders in the establishment of historical societies in other states must be added the influence induced by reaction to their emphasis upon New England's part in American history. More than one society might be listed that owes its origin to this influence.

Largely because of the character of its founders, the New York Historical Society illustrates better than any other a feature typical of most of the early societies. Just as the historical societies had in a sense stemmed from the older scientific academies, in methods of procedure as well as in scope of interest, so they contained within themselves the rudiments of many specialized types. Out of their broad interests grew historical societies and museums devoted to special fields, such as natural history, science, religion, racial elements, and numismatics. The founders of the New York Historical Society indeed conceived an academy for the promotion of general knowledge; special committees were appointed to further the studies of zoölogy, botany, mineralogy, and other subjects. Its limited membership revealed the wide range of its interests: there was Hosack, the mineralogist and botanist; Pintard, the philologist; Kemp, the mathematician; Wilson, the linguist; Kunze, the Orientalist; and Bowden, the professor of philosophy and belles-lettres.[33] So catholic were the interests of their society, which in its initial address to the public declared that its "inquiries are not limited to a single State or district, but extend to the whole Continent", that the author of *The State Triumvirate* declared its leaders to be scornful of Irving's writings because there was nothing in them "which can recommend them to the naturalist, the chemist, the mineralogist, the botanist, the geologist, the conchologist, the entymologist, or the numismatologist; or which can in the slightest degree illustrate the sciences of mathematics, mechanics, pneumatics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, acoustics, dietetics, or obstetrics".[34] Wide and miscellaneous learning was indeed embraced with some ostentation by the more theatrical members, particularly Clinton and Mitchill, somewhat to the detriment of the young society. There was aptness as well as grim humor in Peter Augustus Jay's remark that "A file of American newspapers is of far more value to our design than all the Byzantine historians."[35] One by one these inclusive

[32] Charles F. Hoffman, in *Address delivered before the New York Historical Society . . . with an Account of the Subsequent Proceedings*, p. 105.

[33] Lamb, II, 514–515.

[34] *The State Triumvirate, a Political Tale: and the Epistles of Brevet Major Pindar Puff* (New York, 1819), p. 198.

[35] Lamb, II, 515.

functions were dropped by the older societies as the rise of specialized institutions made them needless; the Massachusetts Historical Society gave up its collection of stuffed animals and some of its minerals in 1833 and the American Antiquarian Society parted with its museum function in the late nineteenth century.

Yet, despite the ridicule of some contemporaries, the New York Historical Society, in common with other early societies, proceeded to gather materials calculated to serve a broad and inclusive definition of history. Its address to the public called for books, pamphlets, and manuscripts embracing orations, sermons, essays, poems, laws, journals of assemblies and committees of safety, Indian treaties, proceedings of ecclesiastical conventions, narratives of missionaries and of Indian and other wars, minutes of societies for the abolition of slavery; transactions of political, literary, and scientific societies; accounts of the origin and progress of universities, colleges, academies, and schools; topographical descriptions of cities, towns, counties, and districts at various periods, with accompanying maps; statistical tables of diseases, births, deaths, and population; meteorological observations and climatic data; reports on the progress of commerce and manufactures; magazines, reviews, and newspapers; biographical memoirs; and original "Essays and Disquisitions on the Natural, Civil, Literary or Ecclesiastical History of any State, City, Town or District".[36] Few modern societies attempt so heroic a program.

The third outstanding eastern society to be formed was the American Antiquarian Society, founded by Isaiah Thomas in 1812. To its founders "antiquities" appeared to connote ancient burials, fortifications, propitiatory symbols, and weapons of Indian warfare; thus in its early years the Indian mounds of Ohio constituted a chief interest of this society.[37] Yet largely because of the interest of its founder in newspapers and in the history of printing, the American Antiquarian Society early received the impetus which makes it to-day paramount in these fields. Next to Thomas, however, the society owes its rich collections of newspapers to Christopher C. Baldwin, who was librarian from 1829 to 1835. "My daily experience", Baldwin wrote in his diary, "tells

[36] New York Hist. Soc., *Coll.*, I (1809), 8–9; *cf.* the similar range of interests of the societies of Virginia and Pennsylvania; *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, XXXIX (1931), 295 ff.; Hist. Soc. Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, I (1826), 15–16, 30 ff.

[37] The American Antiquarian Society's first volume of *Transactions and Collections* (1820) appeared under the general heading *Archæologia Americana*, and contained Caleb Atwater's Description of the Antiquities Discovered in the State of Ohio and other Western States, pp. 105 ff.

me that we cannot determine what is valuable and what is not. There is scarcely anything that issues from the press that will not be wanted by somebody. . . . Since I have been here, I have been unwearied in my pains to get good files of papers from all parts of the country. I have made arrangements with some forty or fifty individuals from different sections of the U. S. to procure for me ancient as well as modern sets. . . . I suffer no traveller to visit me without enlisting him in my cause. . . . Though I may fail of getting as many as I wish, I am sure that I shall entitle myself to the gratitude of future antiquaries." [38]

The movement that had thus been inaugurated with the formation of two societies in Massachusetts and one in New York quickly spread to other states. In the next three decades the following state societies were formed: Rhode Island (1822), Maine (1823), New Hampshire (1823), Pennsylvania (1824), Connecticut (1825), Indiana (1830), Ohio (1831), Virginia (1831), Louisiana (1836), Vermont (1838), Georgia (1839), Maryland (1844), Tennessee (1849), Wisconsin (1849), and Minnesota (1849). In this period there were several attempts to found local and national societies. In 1818 an attempt to establish a New Jersey Historical Society proved to be premature; the Essex Historical Society was founded in 1821, but soon expired, to be revived in 1848 as the Essex Institute, now the foremost county historical society in America; a Worcester County Historical Society flourished in Worcester in the 1820's but its collections were taken over about 1827 by the American Antiquarian Society;[39] the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois entered upon its short existence in 1827;[40] the Michigan Historical Society began the next year, only to founder soon;[41] the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society was founded about 1839, the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society in 1844, and the Annals of Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society in 1849; state historical societies were also formed in North and South Carolina about the middle of the century, but little is known of their activity. In 1833 the Columbian Historical Society in the District of Columbia and the American Historical Society at Washington in 1835 represented two unsuccessful attempts to establish national societies.[42] Apparently the first society

[38] *Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin* (Worcester, 1901), p. 189.

[39] Am. An. Soc., *Proc.*, 1812–1849, p. 220.

[40] *Western Monthly Rev.*, I (1828), 563–565; Early Attempts to form an Illinois State Historical Society, Illinois State Hist. Soc., *Jour.*, II (Oct., 1909), 70–76.

[41] *Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan* (Detroit, 1834), p. iii; Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Soc., *Coll.*, XII, 316–327; A. H. A., *An. Rep.*, 1905, I, 198.

[42] *Am. Hist. Rev.* XV (1909), 4; Am. Hist. Soc., *Trans.* (Washington, 1839).

devoted to a specialized interest was the short-lived Religious History Society, founded about 1817. The New England Historic Genealogical Society was founded in 1844 as a regional society with a specialized interest and proved to be highly successful.

Thus by the middle of the century there had been organized about a score and a half of agencies for preserving American history; more than a third of these were in New England. The Massachusetts Historical Society was clearly the leading institution, both in publications and in collections; by 1840 it had issued some twenty-seven volumes as compared with twenty-four published by the American Antiquarian Society and the societies of Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York. Generally speaking, these societies started off with a burst of enthusiasm which was soon followed by a period of apathy. President William Rawle in giving his first address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania expressed the hope that their institution would not, "like too many others, be marked only by vivacity of inception, apathy of progress, and prematureness of decay".[43] Despite the fact that this society published its first volume of *Memoirs* in 1826 and announced its "expectation of being able to issue a work of equal size every six months",[44] little was done in the next quarter of a century. Perhaps one cause of this state of atrophy into which many of the early societies had fallen was due to the fact that membership was limited and little effort was made to gain the support of the general public. To this, however, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was an interesting exception. Citing the Literary and Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society as the only precursor of that society in Pennsylvania, William Rawle declared: "The radical defect [in the Literary and Historical Committee] is that it consists only of those who are themselves members of the Philosophical Society. . . . The members of an historical society ought to be numerous, perhaps unlimited."[45] This society had three classes of membership and the by-laws declared that even "females may be admitted" as honorary members.

One of the most astonishing phases of the first half-century of historical societies in the United States is the manner in which those with notebooks and the collecting instinct followed so closely upon the heels of the frontiersmen. Though not the earliest chronologically in the

[43] Hist. Soc. Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, I (1826), 77.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Old Northwest, the Minnesota Historical Society has the distinction of following civil organization more quickly than any other; within two months after the meeting of the first territorial legislature, a charter was granted to this society, thereby making it the oldest institution in the state to-day. "It may seem a strange thing", said its first president, Governor Ramsey, "... that a *Historical Society* should have been formed in this Territory, less than a year after its organization, when its history was apparently but a few months old, when the wilderness was, as it is yet, around us, when the smoke of Indian lodges still intercepted our view of the horizon, when our very name was so new that men disputed as to its orthography, and formed parties in contesting its literal meaning."[46] Such a procedure would apparently be on a par with the founding of a historical society in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the 1630's. Benjamin Parke, first president of the Indiana Historical Society, had himself taken part in the battle of Tippecanoe twenty years before; William Henry Harrison and Lewis Cass, both frontier fighters, had published studies in aboriginal history and had given their support to the founding of societies in Ohio and Michigan.[47] But the Central West also had a colonial history, as Governor Ramsey pointed out in his address to the Minnesota Historical Society: "our ploughshares may turn furrows amidst the graves of buried races"; he reminded his hearers and his readers in the East that Minnesota's recorded history went back two centuries to Menard, Hennepin, Lahontan, Le Sueur, and others.[48] From the beginning, too, there was an appreciation of the value of frontier history. "History", said James H. Perkins in a discourse before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, "is but the tale of the world's doings, and refers no less to those of the hamlet, the workshop and the meadow, than to those of the capitol, the senate-chamber, and the field of battle."[49] This concern with scholarly activity on the frontier seems to have derived, in part at least, from a desire to build up a body of letters independent of the East. Timothy Flint, himself a pioneer of culture in the Mississippi Valley, hailed the formation of the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois in his *Western Monthly Review*, and declared that James Hall's address before this new society would "tend to remove the film from the eyes of those of our Atlantic readers, who still think, that there is neither taste, oratory, or [*sic*] fine

[46] Minnesota Hist. Soc., *Annals*, 1850–1851 (St. Paul, 1851), p. 4.

[47] Evarts B. Greene, Our Pioneer Historical Societies, Indiana Hist. Soc., *Publications*, X, 85.

[48] Minnesota Hist. Soc., *op. cit.*, pp. 4–6.

[49] Hist. and Phil. Soc. Ohio, *Trans.*, vol. I (Cincinnati, 1839), pt. 2, pp. 268–269.

writing in the backwood's country".[50] Yet, just as Benjamin Tappan, S. P. Hildreth, and James Hall had made valuable contributions to the publications of historical societies and other learned bodies in the East, so men like Jared Sparks, George Bancroft, and W. H. Prescott lent their aid to the new societies of the West. The strength and importance of the foundations thus laid cannot be overemphasized; nowhere in America at the present time are the standards of historical agencies higher than in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and other states of the Central West, and in some respects they cannot be equaled. Men like Lyman C. Draper and Reuben Gold Thwaites did more than prepare the way for the far-reaching researches of Turner and others: they inaugurated a new conception of the function of a historical society in a republic, that of making history serve a democratic rôle in the development of the community culture—to be, as was proper, at the community expense.

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century historical societies continued to mount steadily in numbers. As estimated by the very incomplete *Handbook of American Historical Societies* published in 1926 and the 1905 edition of Griffin's *Bibliography of American Historical Societies,* about a score of societies were organized from 1850 to 1860 and approximately the same number in the next decade. State societies continued to be represented, as in Iowa in 1857, New Mexico in 1859, and Montana in 1865. Town societies in New England, county societies south and west of the Hudson, and regional societies in different areas began to be established. With the stimulus of the centennial observances of the 1870's a marked increase in the number of societies is to be noted; in the decade from 1870 to 1880 fully as many societies were founded as had come into existence in the two preceding decades. From fifty to sixty societies were founded in each of the last two decades of the century. There now existed almost every type of society—national, regional, religious, racial, scientific, business, genealogical, patriotic. So rapid was the spread of such institutions in the last quarter of the century that Charles Francis Adams and others viewed it with some concern; Adams thought that in numbers at least the period of growth was "clearly . . . over" and said he had frequently heard it remarked that "the day of usefulness of historical societies, even of this Society in particular, was over; that it had done its work and was now effete".[51] Though Adams did not agree with this sentiment, and looked forward to a society whose function was not accumulation, but selection for

[50] *Western Monthly Rev.,* I (1828), 563.

[51] Adams, Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proc.,* 2d ser., XIII, 113.

preservation or destruction—more often the latter—it is significant that such remarks could be made before the society that had inaugurated this century of growth. No such thoughts were being expressed in the Central West.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century is notable also for the increased historical activity to which the centennial observances gave rise. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania made an outstanding contribution in McMaster and Stone's *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution*. The New York Historical Society published the Silas Deane and other Revolutionary papers, and other societies engaged in similar activity. Moreover, not all of the returning Ph.D.'s from Leipzig and Berlin went into teaching; a number satisfied their scholarly bent by engaging in historical society work. Under this stimulus documentary publication was exalted; the museum function fell more and more into a secondary position, to await its reëmphasis in the twentieth century. "Not many years since", said John Bach McMaster before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1884, "an Historical Society was commonly believed to differ but little from a dime museum. People believed its quarters to be a dingy room in an attic, and its treasures bullets from Bunker Hill and guns from Yorktown, arrowheads from Tippecanoe, books nobody ever read, and portraits, as like as two peas. . . . That there was anything lively and human about such societies was doubted. But this, most happily, is so no longer."[52] The president of this same society, Brinton Coxe—himself once a student at German universities—at the same time gave expression to the prevailing view of the function of historical societies: "The publication and editing of texts and abstracts and of historical materials in every shape is now an exacting duty. Students and investigators must not only be made welcome under our roof, but every aid must also be afforded them, which may increase the efficiency of individual exertion."[53] In the West in 1887 Lyman C. Draper placed his mantle upon Reuben Gold Thwaites, and there entered upon his duties one who has had untold influence over the course of historical society development in the past fifty years. He brought the University of Wisconsin into close contact with the State Historical Society by setting aside a seminary room for a young instructor by the name of Frederick Jackson Turner; and he tapped the resources of the state for the carrying on of the society's work—two innovations

[52] *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, VIII (1884), 190–191.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

of far-reaching importance.[54] During his administration he edited ten volumes of *Collections* and twenty-six volumes of *Proceedings;* the library grew in this period from 118,000 to 352,000 volumes, and the staff of trained assistants became the largest in the country.

Thus by the time the leading historians gathered in Saratoga to found the American Historical Association, some two hundred historical societies had been or were in existence, and at least a score of these had done outstanding work. Their combined publications numbered several hundred volumes; their manuscript and book collections embraced perhaps most of the principal sources of American history; and their buildings and endowments probably were worth more than a million dollars. Founded largely by persons of amateur standing, this movement had conserved the resources of American history and focused the interests of historically minded persons for nearly a century before the founding of the American Historical Association. Though in some respects that body now stands *in loco parentis* to the various state and local historical societies, it is partly at least the product of their activity. The existing societies in 1884 not only contributed many of the members of the new national organization, but their combined activities in collecting, publishing, and promoting the study of history in America had made such an organization possible by helping to make it essential.

Here, it seemed to many supporters of state and local societies, was an opportunity for coöperative effort on a national scale. The growth of universities and colleges with increased endowments, the establishment of separate chairs of history, and the introduction of the seminar and the scientific method helped to make this greatest of all historical societies such that one of its founders could say at its quarter-centennial: "Probably no historical society in the world is more numerous; it might perhaps be successfully maintained that none is more extensively useful."[55] Yet, despite the early support given the national body by other historical societies, the interest of the American Historical Association in the state and local groups was spasmodic for the first two decades of its existence. To be sure, at the third annual meeting Moses Coit Tyler read a paper on the neglect and destruction of historical materials in the United States and called upon the members to use their influence in persuading owners to place their documents in libraries or historical societies. In 1890, 1892, and 1895 the Association published in its *Annual Report* A. P. C. Griffin's bibliography of the state and local societies.

[54] Frederick Jackson Turner, *Reuben Gold Thwaites* (Madison, 1914).

[55] Jameson, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XV, 20.

In 1897 Dr. J. Franklin Jameson read a penetrating article on the functions of these societies with respect to research and publication. Pointing out that one of the prime motives in the founding of the American Historical Association was the desire to promote better coöperation between teachers of history and historical societies, he tactfully suggested that the essential weaknesses of the publications of these institutions involved subjects too highly localized, with little or no bearing on general American history; too much emphasis upon the colonial and Revolutionary periods; too much concern with genealogy; and too little attention paid to economic history.[56] At the same meeting Reuben Gold Thwaites presented a paper on state-supported historical societies and their functions, with particular emphasis on the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

It was not until 1904, however, that the American Historical Association began to pay serious attention to the interests of historical societies. At the Chicago meeting that year Henry E. Bourne read a paper on the development and work of American historical societies.[57] A pioneer work in its field, this paper still remains valuable. Presenting in brief form the results of a thorough investigation, it analyzed the kinds of local, state, regional, and national societies at work in the United States and presented valuable data concerning their collections and publications. This initial survey suggested that many of the defects and disadvantages of the societies resulted from their decentralized status. The lesson was as clear here as it was to the founders of the American Historical Association two decades before: organization and coöperation were essential. Professor Bourne pointed out the beneficial work of the Comité des travaux historiques among French historical groups, and concluded with a question that was far from rhetorical: "If some common direction is needed in a highly centralized country like France, where the intellectual life centers in Paris, it is much more necessary here. The necessity is present; the materials are at hand. The question is, What shall be done?" [58]

As a result of this suggestive paper, the Council of the American Historical Association appointed a committee composed of Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Franklin L. Riley, and Reuben Gold Thwaites, who were charged with the duty of reporting at the meeting in 1905 upon the best methods of organization and work of the state and local historical so-

[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.
[57] A. H. A., *An. Rep.*, 1904, pp. 115–127.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

cieties. Faced with the complex problem of suggesting a plan of coördination for some four or five hundred societies "as diverse in aim and organization as the localities where they work or the periods when they originated",[59] this committee found it clearly impracticable to prescribe a set of rules. It therefore resolved itself into a fact-finding body whose principal contribution was an extension of the Bourne inquiry. While its findings were interesting and valuable, nothing essentially new was added and little or no progress was made toward the central problem of unification and coördination. An elaborate questionnaire was prepared and forwarded to all societies; some difficulty was experienced in getting answers, no less from the "serene self-content on the part of conservative and comfortably endowed organizations" than from the indifference of small local societies suffering from extreme inertia. Indeed, said one of the committee, "In the responses of a few of the older societies was noticeable a tone implying that we had committed an impertinence in thus inquisitively intruding into their placid lives." [60] Less than half of the societies replied to the questionnaire. Perhaps the most important data accumulated by the committee tended to emphasize a fact already apparent: leadership in state historical activity seemed henceforth to belong to the Central West. The Massachusetts Historical Society, to be sure, was shown to have an endowment of $221,000 as compared with $53,000 for the Wisconsin Historical Society; but the latter depended upon legislative aid chiefly for its income, and its building was valued at $610,000 as compared with $225,000 for that of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Its library numbered 275,000 titles, while that of the much older institution in Massachusetts contained but 155,000.

In regard to types of organization, the committee found in the East privately endowed societies which without official patronage had attained strength and a high degree of usefulness, such as the societies of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. In the Central West were equally vigorous societies functioning under state support, such as those of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Kansas. Beginning at the turn of the century, too, there appeared in several states a "Department of Archives and History" or some corresponding department, being an official bureau of government; of these Alabama and Mississippi were typical examples. In Iowa the state society retained a strong autonomy, despite the exist-

[59] Reuben Gold Thwaites, State and Local Historical Societies, *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.*, IV (1906), 245–266.

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 246–247.

ence of a liberally supported historical department at the capitol; while in Kansas the State Historical Society had charge of the department. In New England, particularly in Massachusetts, town historical societies were the rule; elsewhere the county was usually the unit taken for the local historical society's scope. The committee also noticed an increasing tendency toward a closer alliance between state historical societies and departments of history in the state universities, particularly among the Southern and Western historical agencies.

Contemporary with these surveys, the American Historical Association inaugurated the Conference of Historical Societies as an annual affair, semi-autonomous with the Association.[61] Strangely, the invitation was limited to institutions of the South and West, on the theory that the eastern societies "were not as a rule confronted by the questions which troubled those of the newer States".[62] By starting off thus on an essentially false basis, the conference has never fulfilled the design of such a congress of historical agencies as, for example, the Congrès des sociétés savantes. From 1904, when the American Historical Association first began to pay serious attention to the problem of coöperation among these bodies, until 1914, the proceedings of the annual conference were reported in some detail in the *Annual Reports;* papers read at the meetings were usually printed in full, and some of them were highly useful. Since 1914, however, the conference has made no appreciable progress in furthering the primary object for which it was established. Tacked on usually at the end of the annual meetings of the American Historical Association, its sessions sparsely attended, its papers scarcely ever printed, and its officers and policies constantly changing, the conference has succeeded chiefly in enlisting the support of the societies of the Central West and of those closely allied with universities. For, although the conference invariably voiced the best standards of scholarship and coöperation, its voice was that of the parent body and not the joint product of those actively in charge of the administration of the historical agencies of the country. The difficult problems of organizing state historical work and of effecting inter-society coöperation either remain largely in the status they were in when the conference first addressed itself to them, or else have been modified largely by the initiative of state and regional societies.[63]

[61] Frederick Wightman Moore, First Report of the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies, A. H. A., *An. Rep.*, 1904, pp. 221–234.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 221.

[63] For an outline of the first five years of the history of the conference, see Sioussat, A. H. A., *An. Rep.*, 1909, pp. 281–285.

The sixth annual meeting of the conference, coinciding with the 25th anniversary of the founding of the American Historical Association, serves admirably to illustrate the potential value of the conference among the historical societies of the country. At that session papers were read concerning the activities of historical societies in England, the Netherlands, France, and Spain.[64] Professor Bourne continued to demonstrate his interest in the problems of American historical societies by reading a paper entitled "What we can learn from the Publishing Activities of European Societies".[65] At the same session Dr. Worthington C. Ford made a telling indictment of the defects of the publications of historical societies.[66] The lessons to be learned and the defects pointed out in both papers were those already becoming stale from repetition; they derived directly or indirectly from a failure to cling to the high ideals of scholarship set by the American Historical Association.

For the quarter of a century that has elapsed since this meeting, it is impossible to do more than summarize the outstanding developments. Scores of local societies have been formed within the past decade, largely under the stimulus of some state society; the state societies of Indiana, Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota have been particularly aggressive in this respect. A high mortality rate exists among these somewhat artificially stimulated societies, and the recent depression has even terminated the existence or severely handicapped some of the older and more strongly intrenched societies. Yet a conservative estimate would place the number of historical agencies at between seven and eight hundred; their combined investment in funds, books, and property at something like tenfold the total of twenty-five years ago; and their published output, since 1792, at several thousand volumes. Were these statistics much more than a mere guess, however, they still would fail to convey an accurate impression of the work of American historical societies.

At least in some portions of the country, particularly in the Central West, state historical societies seem to have passed through stages similar to those marking the history of public schools, libraries, and museums; their useful functions have been recognized as worthy of state support, thus relieving them of their dependence upon private endowment. Out of this have come two of the most significant features of historical society activity in recent years: the idea of the value of a state historical body

[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 229–277.
[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 293–302.
[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 302–307.

as an active member of state administration and the conception of its duty in carrying out a democratic program of education in state history. The State Historical Society of Iowa may be taken as an example of the former, and the Minnesota Historical Society of the latter.

The State Historical Society of Iowa, guided during the past four decades by Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, has research and publication as its dominant purpose; during this time it has employed some twenty-six trained persons to do research and has issued 720 publications totaling 75,111 pages! It is doubtful if the political and constitutional history of any other commonwealth has been so thoroughly documented. These publications range in character from documentary sources meant for the scholar to essays in a style that is popular in the best sense. The Iowa Applied History Series embraces under this interesting title a seven volume attempt to bring the light of history to bear upon the solution of current problems of legislation and administration.[67] These volumes deal with such explosive questions as road legislation, regulation of utilities, workmen's compensation, removal of public officials, lawmaking abuses, county government, and welfare work. Here history is raised to the dignity of a coördinate agency of government, assisting through historical scholarship to throw light upon vexing present day questions. James I might dissolve the Society of Antiquaries of London because of a fear of their peering too closely into the arcana of government, but here in a modern commonwealth we find a legislature making liberal appropriations to enable scholars to investigate its most recent activities and to broadcast their findings among 190 libraries and hundreds of members. It was such a public function as this that led John Quincy Adams in 1844 to declare that historical societies were among the most useful of human institutions.[68] If legislative control acts as a brake on absolute freedom of research under these auspices, the scientific method is nevertheless employed. Thomas Sprat could declare in 1667 that he "never yet saw an Historian that was cleer from all Affections: that, it may be, were not so much to be called *Integrity,* as a Stoical *Insensibility*",[69] yet here in Iowa in 1933 "neither partisan bias nor personal prejudice

[67] A Brief History of the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1857–1907, *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.,* I (1903), 139–152; *Some Information concerning the State Historical Society of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1933).

[68] *An Account of the Celebration by the New York Historical Society of their Fortieth Anniversary* (New York, 1844), p. 70.

[69] *History of the Royal Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London, 1667), p. 53.

is allowed to enter into the work of those who are engaged in research for the Society".[70]

Under the administration of Dr. Solon J. Buck from 1914 to 1931, the Minnesota Historical Society demonstrated its perception of the implicit duty laid upon state-supported historical societies to convey "the gospel of salvation through a knowledge of the past to all who are capable of receiving it".[71] This it did by means of its journal, *Minnesota History,* news releases to Minnesota newspapers, radio broadcasts, traveling museum exhibits, and the historical pilgrimage—the last an agency for popularizing historical activity that is itself growing in popularity among state agencies.[72] As a result of these efforts to promote a knowledge of and interest in state history among the largest number of people, practical benefits have been noticed in increased membership and in growth of appreciation among public officials and legislators, a desideratum of importance where state support is concerned. Similar efforts have been made in Missouri; the articles in its magazine have been widely used by the state press.[73] Field work carried on in Illinois, Michigan, and Minnesota for the surveying of local archives and the promotion of local historical activity has also had its value in teaching the benefits of historical inquiry to a larger portion of the population.[74] In recent months the Chicago Historical Society began its *Historical News Leaflet;* the Missouri Historical Society issued in December, 1933, the first of a series of leaflets called *Glimpses of the Past;* and the New York Historical Society began preparing excellent notices of its collections and exhibits for the metropolitan dailies—all evidencing the desire of administrators to democratize the historical society. The New York State Historical Association devised a handsome bronze medal for weekly newspapers as a stimulus for the publication of local history. In Wisconsin the monumental *Domesday Book,* already well under way, will carry the scientific method almost to every farm and shop in the state; the effect as an educational enterprise in a day of adult leisure

[70] Leaflet, *The State Historical Society of Iowa* (1933).

[71] *Miss. Vall. Hist. Rev.,* X (1923), 10.

[72] Monthly press bulletins were begun in Iowa in 1911, in Wisconsin in 1914, and in Minnesota in 1921. In Missouri a news-letter to the press entitled "This Week in Missouri History" has been regarded as one of the two most effective means employed in the past five years in making the society known and in popularizing state history; Theodore C. Blegen, State Historical Agencies and the Public, *Minnesota Hist.,* IX (1928), 123–134.

[73] Floyd C. Shoemaker, Popularizing State History, Miss. Vall. Hist. Assoc., *Proc.,* X, 433–439.

[74] Franklin F. Holbrook, Some Possibilities of Historical Field Work, *Minnesota Hist. Bulletin,* II (1917), 69–81.

is beyond calculation. The recent *Survey of Activities of American Agencies in relation to Materials for Research in the Social Sciences and the Humanities,* being a tentative guide to the activities in this field of some four hundred and fifty agencies, takes notice of state-wide manuscript surveys in various states, notably in Virginia.[75] In the majority of instances, even when local governmental archives are in point, the investigator must justify the ways of the historian to the general public; the result is wholesome for the interviewer as well as for the person interviewed. In the East some of the methods used by state agencies in the Central West in broadening the basis of their activities have been adopted, particularly by the New York State Historical Association and the younger Pennsylvania State Historical Association; but a number of the older societies in this region have, like the American Antiquarian Society, concentrated "all efforts . . . on the building of a great library for the free use of scholars",[76] and that has been their preëminent function.

One of the most significant trends in the past quarter-century has been the growth in number and the improvement in standards of state and local historical magazines. The editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* claimed the leadership of this movement for the Central West, and the justice of the claim must be acknowledged.[77] Though some of these historical journals are badly edited, emphasize antiquarian interests, and tend toward highly localized subjects—sometimes apotheosized in verse—yet such magazines as *Minnesota History,* the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine,* the *Wisconsin Magazine of History, New York History,* and the *North Carolina Historical Review* have set high standards. About a score and a half of magazines that may be regarded as state historical journals have been founded in the United States, most of them within the past twenty-five years. A few, like the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* and the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* extend back half a century or more. These journals have issued a combined total of some seven hundred volumes. In addition there are regional and local magazines which probably number as many and include long files, such as that of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* and the *New York Genea-*

[75] Compiled by Franklin F. Holbrook under the sponsorship of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council (Washington, 1932).

[76] R. W. G. Vail, The American Antiquarian Society, Business Hist. Soc., *Bull.,* VII (Dec., 1933), 1.

[77] *Miss. Vall. Hist. Rev.,* XIV (1927), 437; see also, William B. Shaw, Historical Society Magazines as viewed by an Outsider, Conf. Hist. Soc., *Proc.* (1923), pp. 20–27.

logical and Biographical Record. It is noteworthy that in New England the historical magazine has not yet displaced the traditional attachment to volumes of "Proceedings" and "Collections"; in 1892, however, the Rhode Island Historical Society changed its *Proceedings* to a quarterly, only to change back in 1900; again in 1918 its *Collections* became an illustrated magazine. The newer magazines have been founded chiefly in the Western and Southern states; a few of these are the *Arkansas Historical Review, Arizona Historical Review, New Mexico Historical Review, Annals of Wyoming, North Dakota Historical Quarterly, Colorado Magazine,* and *California Historical Society Quarterly.* Monthly periodicals designed for a larger public audience, such as *The Palimpsest* of the State Historical Society of Iowa and *Museum Echoes* of the Ohio State Historical and Archaeological Society, have become increasingly effective.

Nothing of recent development in the activity of historical societies, however, is of more importance than the increased interest taken in these agencies by members of departments of history in American colleges and universities. *The American Historical Review* has taken the lead in encouraging this development; *The Canadian Historical Review* has likewise manifested an interest in the work of Canadian societies and has opened its pages to reports of their activities, listing in December, 1931, some sixty societies in Canada which together had issued some 900 publications and of which three rivaled many of the older societies of the United States in years—the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec (1824); the Société Historique de Montréal (1857); and the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal (1862).[78] Here again due credit must be given to the example of the states of the Central West; in Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Minnesota a close alliance has been maintained between the historical societies and university departments of history. In the East, however, notable examples were being set. The Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, sponsored by the Buhl Foundation, was under the joint administration of the University of Pittsburgh and the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society.[79] At Harvard, the Business Historical Society, located in the Baker Library of the Graduate School of Business Administration, was founded in 1925 and in the ten years of its existence has made phenomenal progress in gathering a great collection of material relating to

[78] *Canadian Hist. Rev.*, XII (1931), 356–363.

[79] Solon J. Buck, A Program for Research in Western Pennsylvania History, *Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag.*, XV (1932), 47–62.

such diverse subjects as agriculture, lumbering, fishing, whaling, mining, manufacturing, printing, engineering, transportation, marketing, banking, and insurance. Inspired by its leadership and impelled by the demands of historians of business and economics, other societies have built up considerable collections of similar materials, thus rendering obsolete Dr. Jameson's remark in 1897 that too little attention was paid to economic materials; indeed, it begins to be apparent that the pendulum is swinging too far in the other direction. In Pennsylvania, too, teachers of history who had become dissatisfied with the ineffectiveness of the Federation of Historical Societies planned and executed what was virtually a revolution; the result was the establishment in 1932 of the Pennsylvania Historical Association, modeled closely on that of New York, and the inauguration of a modest but excellent review, *Pennsylvania History,* both of which are in the capable hands of the revolutionists. At the West Virginia University an Institute of Legal History was established in 1933; a good part of this project included the appointment of a research assistant to "locate, inventory and take steps to preserve all legal and semi-legal records".[80] At the University of Virginia Dr. Lester J. Cappon has set a standard in the conduct of statewide inventories of manuscripts and in methods of coöperation with local historical societies.[81] Nowhere, however, has the influence of university standards been made to tell more effectively in state historical activity than in New York, largely as a result of the lead taken by Professor Dixon Ryan Fox, president since 1929 of the New York State Historical Association. Dominating with persuasive eloquence a society rich neither in endowment nor in materials for research, he secured during depression years an increase in membership and a noteworthy addition to the society's museum collection; carried forward the publication of a ten-volume coöperative history of the state whose chapters have been contributed largely by university and college men; inaugurated a series of monographs of which the first, E. Wilder Spaulding's *New York in the Critical Period,* set a high standard of scholarship; began a survey of historical manuscripts in the state; and most important of all drafted such outstanding university men as Professors Greene, Nevins, Wrong, Albion, Perkins, Krout, and Rezneck, among others, to read papers at the annual meetings, with resultant improvement in the quarterly magazine, *New York History.* The counsel given by

[80] *Ibid.,* XVI, 302.

[81] *First Annual Report of the Archivist, University of Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1931); see also second and third reports in 1932 and 1933.

Dr. Jameson in 1897 is beginning to bear fruit; "one of the prime objects" of the founding of the American Historical Association comes nearer to realization at its semi-centennial than at any other period in its useful history. An evidence of what may be expected of the historical societies in the future appears in the younger generation of trained scholars now engaged in this field, among them, to mention only a few, Theodore C. Blegen, Herbert A. Kellar, Harlow Lindley, Lester J. Cappon, Paul W. Gates, Arthur C. Bining, and Hugh M. Flick. The appearance in the East of such a seasoned veteran as Dr. Solon J. Buck is a most happy augury.

At no time have historical societies been more in need of every kind of support than at the present. In the West legislative appropriations have been reduced drastically; in North Dakota the biennial appropriation was reduced from $23,450 to $13,520; in Missouri the appropriations are about fifty per cent of the average from 1921 to 1930; in Iowa and Illinois appropriations have been reduced thirty-nine and thirty-five per cent respectively.[82] In the East and elsewhere societies dependent largely upon endowments and private donations have found the income derived from these sources dwindling. Documentary publications and journals have in some instances been reduced in size or suspended. Yet most administrators are courageously making an effort to survive without any jettisoning of principles. In Wisconsin Dr. Schafer is carrying on the great tradition of Draper and Thwaites with the *Wisconsin Domesday Book* whose main outlines he suggested fourteen years ago, and many other societies have important works in press.[83] Yet there is real need to apprehend the future. "All types of historical institutions have suffered", declared Dr. Herbert A. Kellar before the last Conference of Historical Societies. "Directors and trustees frequently have been faced with disheartening factors which they have been powerless to overcome. Dwindling reserves, loss of value of securities, inability to obtain new funds, decrease of appropriations by legislatures, reduced staffs, lower salaries, reduction of book purchases and library equipment, resignation of members, curtailment of functions—the story is the same every-

[82] Theodore C. Blegen, Some Aspects of Historical Work under the New Deal, *Miss. Vall. Hist. Rev.*, XXI (Sept., 1934), 195–206.

[83] Joseph Schafer, The Microscopic Method applied to History, *Minnesota Hist. Bull.*, IV (1921), 3–20; also The Wisconsin Domesday Book, *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, IV (1920), 61–74; the policy thus initiated has resulted to date in the publication of a brief history of agriculture in Wisconsin, an "experimental" history of twenty-three towns, a volume entitled *Four Wisconsin Counties—Prairie and Forest* (Madison, 1927), and a volume entitled *The Wisconsin Lead Region* (Madison, 1932); another volume is in press.

where".[84] The present predicament of historical agencies suggested to Dr. Kellar the facing of the central question of coördination and unification with the object of raising standards, eliminating duplication, and strengthening individual effort. Concluding that under the old order of historical society administration "the net result to date has been the development of a few great societies, a respectable number of worthwhile institutions, and a large number of futile and ineffective organizations", Dr. Kellar suggested that such agencies should more and more substitute an enlarged public support for private endowment by wealthy sponsors. As one means to this end, he offered a change of the present Conference of Historical Societies "from a volunteer, advisory body to a more active agency operating to raise the standard of historical society work throughout the country".[85] Such an agency, in his opinion, might promote historical activity by making surveys and inventories of manuscripts, allotting certain fields of collection to certain institutions, lending and exchanging duplicate and other materials, compiling a guide to historical societies, and creating uniform rules of cataloguing, publishing, etc. As a result of this suggestion a committee was appointed to canvass the question and report to the conference at the next meeting in Washington.[86]

At last, then, the issue that libraries and museums have long since solved is clearly presented. It is the question of whether those in charge of American historical societies will take their destiny firmly in hand and establish an autonomous national organization with usefulness to society and high standards of scholarship as ideals, or whether some modification of the existing Conference of Historical Societies will be made. The need of some central coördinating agency was forcefully demonstrated during the past year when government funds for archival work might have been available in many states had all historical agencies known of the possibility at an early date. We have returned to the question put by Dr. Bourne in 1904: "The necessity is present. . . . The question is, What shall be done?"

JULIAN P. BOYD.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[84] "Report upon a suggested code for State and Local Historical Societies", typescript copy.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[86] *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX (1934), 439.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA AND THE OREGON TREATY

A flurry of war excitement swept over the British Isles in the spring of 1845. It was occasioned by the inaugural address of the President of the United States. Discussing the Oregon question, then under peaceful negotiation with the British government, President Polk declared, "Our title to the country of the Oregon is 'clear and unquestionable,' and already are our people preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children . . . our people, increasing to many millions . . . are already engaged in establishing the blessings of self-government in valleys of which the rivers flow to the Pacific. . . . The jurisdiction of our laws and the benefits of our republican institutions should be extended over them in the distant regions which they have selected for their homes." [1]

The inaugural was typical of the Jacksonian period, a republican manifesto intended for the edification of the sovereign people of the United States. Its assertion that American title to the Oregon country is "clear and unquestionable" was a clipping from the Democratic campaign platform of 1844. In America such a declaration was adequately discounted; it produced little comment and no public excitement. In Washington negotiations went forward peacefully as before for the partition of Oregon.

But in England its reception was less calm. The modes of American politics were not so well understood there, and presidential inaugurals were conceived of as formal state papers. In earlier negotiations the American government had recognized that Great Britain had some rights to Oregon by offering to partition it and by agreeing twice to conventions of joint occupation. In the face of this record, for President Polk to declare that American title to the country is "clear and unquestionable" seemed an aggression; that he should do so in the midst of a new negotiation for partition seemed a gross impropriety. The Oregon paragraph came in the address in an irritating association. Preceding it was a triumphant announcement of the joint congressional resolution inviting Texas to enter the American Union. In old England as in New England the occupation, revolt, and annexation of Texas

[1] James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, IV, 381.

seemed a slaveholders' conspiracy against the Mexican Republic, and its methods were those which the inaugural seemed to project against territory claimed by Britain. In the British press the address was everywhere regarded as a challenge, and was everywhere responded to with denunciation and defiance.

The menace of the address seemed so grave that the British ministry and the Opposition united to stage in Parliament a demonstration of national unity. In the Commons Lord John Russell, in an aggressive speech, upheld British claims to Oregon and pledged the Whig party to defend them, while Sir Robert Peel in ringing words declared that Great Britain had rights in Oregon that were "clear and unquestionable" and was prepared to maintain them. In the Lords, Clarendon moved for information, which gave Lord Aberdeen an opportunity to deliver an impressive warning to the American government.[2] In order that news of these discussions might the more promptly be brought to the United States the outgoing mail steamer was for a day detained. Blast and counterblast succeeding each other thus brought on the Oregon storm of 1845–1846.

The Oregon area over which the storm raged was a relatively restricted one. It was a mere fragment of the great domain stretching from California to Alaska and from the Rocky Mountains to the sea over which politicians and diplomats argued. It was an area lying between the offers repeatedly made to each other by the two governments during a quarter of a century of diplomacy, a triangle bounded on the north by the 49th parallel and on the south and east by the Columbia River. Not even the entirety of this triangle was in controversy, for in 1826 the British government had offered the American a detached headland lying north of the Columbia River between Admiralty Inlet and the Pacific Ocean, a concession intended to meet the American demand for a share in the harbors that lie inside the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

Lord Aberdeen, Peel's secretary for foreign affairs, was personally willing to yield the whole triangle to the United States. Conciliatory and peace loving, he saw nothing in it worth the risks of war. He conceived of its soil as a pine swamp; he knew that the great river flowing at its base, which previous British negotiators had clung to under the mistaken impression that it was the future outlet of western Canada to the sea, was for the most part unnavigable; and he recognized the reasonableness of the American demand for a share in the harbors

[2] Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. LXXIX, cols. 115–123, 178–199.

lying inside Juan de Fuca Strait. As early as March, 1844, he was willing to agree to a line of partition repeatedly proposed by the American government—the line of the 49th parallel—stopping it short only at the coast so as not to sever Vancouver Island.[3]

But the cabinet was less pliant. It feared the political consequences of a surrender so complete. Its extensive program of domestic reform was threatened by the Opposition charge repeatedly made by Lord Palmerston that Aberdeen's foreign policy was weak and nerveless, consisting of truckling to France and America, and that the Ashburton Treaty in particular was a shameful "capitulation". Under any circumstances, to concede to the United States what previous British governments had declined to yield for over a quarter of a century was a grave political risk; to concede it after the menace of the Polk inaugural was to expose the government to the charge of having abandoned national pride and honor. This political fear was the chief barrier in 1845–1846 to an Oregon peace.[4]

To remove this barrier was in the last analysis Lord Aberdeen's Oregon problem. It was a task of winning a nation by propaganda to views of concession, of disarming the Whig Opposition in advance of a treaty. It meant teaching the British people that the Oregon question was one of mixed right which ought to be settled in accordance with the doctrine of convenience. It meant correcting national misconceptions as to the resources and the values of the Oregon country, making clear that the fur trade, the main economic interest in it, was a dying industry; that the Columbia River, the ultimatum of earlier British governments, was of little utility for a heavy commerce on account of its broken course; that, on the other hand, on all the coast between Vancouver Island and the Mexican province of California there were no safe harbors; that it was reasonable, therefore, for the American government to insist on sharing those inside Juan de Fuca Strait, and that to make a division of them on a basis insuring future tranquillity required adoption of the line of the 49th parallel to the straits.

The times were propitious for the spread of such propaganda. The period was one of "little Englanders". Colonial possessions of all sorts were regarded in England in influential circles as a burden. In particular British North America was so regarded. The Canadas exhausted British patience by their internal disorders and their constant bickering with

[3] Aberdeen to Pakenham, Mar. 4, 1844, Aberdeen MSS., British Museum.

[4] See my article, British Politics and the Oregon Treaty, in the *American Historical Review*, XXXVII, 653–677.

colonial administrators. From Hudson Bay to the Rocky Mountains extended the hunting preserve of an unpopular fur-trading corporation. Beyond the Rockies lay the remote wilderness of Oregon closed to individual British enterprise by Parliament's monopoly grant in 1821 of its British trade rights to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Favorable to the spread of concession propaganda also was the spirit created by the contemporary British crusade for free trade. The free trade argument postulated international good will and fostered a generous conception of the relations between nations. British intellectuals enlisted in the crusade were nearly all conspicuous internationalists. They were friendly in particular toward the United States. They believed that repeal would improve Anglo-American relations by developing between the two countries mutually advantageous commercial relations—America would feed England and England would clothe America. Politically the free trade movement was disarming; it militated against the narrowness of faction quite as much as of nation. It released a spirit of independence of party, making less certain the rewards of factional attack on a government that made sacrifices in the interests of peace.

British business interests fostered a spirit of international conciliation. British business in 1845–1846 was only recently recovered from the economic collapse of 1837–1841. Quiet was required as a restorative of confidence and as a quickener of the flow of overseas trade. For special reasons London banking and financial classes wished Anglo-American comity. They had sold American securities, more especially the bonds of American state governments, to British investors in large quantity. These bonds had fallen on evil days following the crash of 1837–1841. In nearly half the American states, including such well-established ones as Pennsylvania and Maryland, interest payments had been suspended; some states had gone to the length of repudiation. The state legislatures were attempting, as trade revived, to restore their fallen credit, but it was a difficult and painful process of levying new taxes on burdened communities. Politicians took refuge from it in the plausible argument that hostilities were likely to develop over the Oregon question with the nation that harbored a goodly percentage of the bondholders.

One London banking house that had been prominent as a purveyor of American bonds and stocks to British investors and was therefore deeply committed to Anglo-American comity was the great firm of Baring Brothers. It was a power ranking in the field of international finance with the Rothschilds in Paris and wielding an influence similar

to that of present day American princes of credit. It was committed by personal as well as business ties to Anglo-American friendship. The head of the house until 1831—Lord Ashburton—had established friendly connections in America by long residence and marriage there; in 1814 he had been Gallatin's counselor in the peace negotiations at Ghent, and in 1842 his conciliatory spirit had made possible the adjustment of the Maine boundary dispute. This spirit was carried on by his successors in the leadership of the house, by Joshua Bates and Thomas Baring. Joshua Bates was an American, born and reared in New England. He was a trusted adviser to successive American ministers at the Court of St. James, especially to Edward Everett and Louis McLane. He was in close touch with London diplomatic and court circles through his son-in-law, Jean Sylvain van de Weyer, minister of Belgium, whose name appears at a later point in this narrative.

Lord Aberdeen labored on the other hand under some heavy handicaps in preparing the British public for concession. He had to reckon in certain British circles with a confirmed ill will against America, a sentiment Palmerston played upon for party purposes in unleashing his thundering attack on the Ashburton Treaty. The disarming of an Opposition required access to Opposition journals which was difficult to gain since the latter were desirous of embarrassing rather than aiding the government. Cabinet colleagues had to be reconciled, a task not accomplished until January, 1846. Concession propaganda had to be guided at a distance and in secrecy lest knowledge of the conciliatory attitude of the foreign office become public property and encourage American extremists to press anew upon President Polk the demand for the whole of Oregon.

Prior to January, 1846, for these reasons Lord Aberdeen permitted others to take the lead in disseminating propaganda of concession. He contented himself with giving friendly countenance to disciples who spread the gospel for him. Nassau W. Senior was the first of these. He was a notable British economist ranking until 1848 even above John Stuart Mill. In politics he was a Whig, high in the councils of his party, and a frequent contributor on political subjects to the chief Whig quarterly, the *Edinburgh Review*. He was, however, no ordinary party man. Politically he was unshackled, and his outlook, like that of free traders in general, was international. For his party's opposition tactics during Peel's last government he had little sympathy.

Writing to the editor of the *Edinburgh Review* on October 30, 1845, Senior observed:

An Opposition . . . which opposes indiscriminately is generally wrong. The Tories did this most wickedly. But we are not without similar defects. Witness the opposition to the Factory Bill. The foreign relations of a country are, however, the points on which an Opposition is generally most unscrupulous and most mischievous. Such is the case with France now, and probably with America. Such was the case with us in the opposition to the Ashburton treaty. I hope we shall behave better in future; but I own that my principal fears for the peace of the world arise from my fears of the misconduct of the French, American, and English Oppositions. The three Governments will behave well, if they are allowed.[5]

Senior's first Oregon article was undertaken when England was feverish with war excitement over the Polk inaugural, when a plea for concession was a voice crying in the wilderness. It was suggested either by Edward Everett, American minister at the Court of St. James, or by Joshua Bates, the American partner in the house of Baring.[6] In its preparation Edward Everett took a considerable part. Lord Aberdeen gave it such countenance as he dared. The London *Examiner,* a widely read Whig weekly, was the vehicle chosen to present it to the public. A curious literary enterprise! A British publicist and the minister of the United States joining to educate the British public to a spirit of concession on a grave diplomatic issue in the columns of an Opposition newspaper with the British secretary for foreign affairs smiling his approval! It is an anomaly that strikingly illustrates the nature of the Oregon problem in its last critical year.

Edward Everett's correspondence traces from day to day the part he played in this drama. "If", he wrote Senior on March 31, 1845, "you will keep the Examiner from committing itself next Saturday, I will let you have some notes in season for next week." [7]

On April 4 he reported to the American Secretary of State:

I may state in entire confidence to you that the ground of the belief expressed by me in my number 288 that an influential Liberal journal would take a fair and candid view of the Oregon question is this, that Mr. Senior, a gentleman well known to you by reputation, has assured me that he thought our often repeated proposal to run the 49th parallel of latitude to the sea was a reasonable offer and that if I would furnish him the requisite facts and data, he would take that ground in the columns of the *Examiner.*

Having rigidly abstained on principle since I have been here from all communication with the public press, I do not feel inclined in a matter of so much delicacy to depart from this course; but I shall take care to furnish Mr. Senior with such documentary evidence as will enable him to learn the true merits of the question.[8]

[5] Macvey Napier, ed., *Selections from the Correspondence of the Late Macvey Napier* (1879 ed.), pp. 501–502.

[6] McLane to Polk, Aug. 4, 1845, Buchanan MSS., Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[7] Everett to Senior, Mar. 31, 1845, Everett MSS., Massachusetts Historical Society.

[8] Everett to Buchanan, Apr. 4, 1845, Everett MSS.

On April 5 in alarm at the gravity which the demonstration in Parliament had given the Oregon question, Everett wrote Senior a letter more circumspect than he had intended, though not so guarded as to prevent imparting some helpful views.

> After the grave character given to the subject of Oregon by the discussions in Parliament last evening, I feel that it would be indiscreet in me to furnish you, at any length, even in the most confidential manner, with my views on the subject. I send you, however, two pamphlets which will give you in a brief space, a more accurate knowledge of the nature and foundations of the American claim than can be derived from the statements made last evening. Mr. Sturgis (the author of one of them) now a wealthy merchant in Boston, was originally a shipmaster and passed several years in that capacity on the coast of the debateable territory.
>
> I perceive with regret that the liberal party in England has, since the accession of the present ministry, assumed the character of unfriendliness towards us. It is, I think, a false position. Not to say anything of the course pursued by some of the Leaders of the party in reference to the treaty of Washington . . . they are now urging the government to extreme counsels in asserting your claims to Oregon. . . .[9]
>
> With respect to the present state of the question, I am of course restrained from saying anything which does not appear from public documents; but it appears from them that three times, and perhaps four, vizt in 1818, in 1824, and in 1826, we have offered to run the 49th degree of latitude (which bounds us for nearly 1500 miles east of the rocky mountains) to the Pacific. . . . You saw the line at my office the other day and exclaimed spontaneously that it was the natural and fair boundary. This fair and moderate proposal was rejected three times by the government of Lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning, chiefly I am inclined to think under the influence of the fur companies, who wish to retain the opportunity which their position gives them of taking annually perhaps £10,000 worth of beaver. What is there in such a measure as the rejection of this liberal and moderate proposal that should endear it to Lord Lansdowne, or Lord Clarendon or Lord John Russell?
>
> I have not the least doubt that the present government would willingly embrace it did they not feel bound by the acts of their predecessors, but the liberal party is not so bound.
>
> I do not mean to imply that this question ought to be viewed under party aspects, but I think its antecedents are such as well deserve a little scrutiny before you pledge yourself to sustain them even at the risk of the peace of the world.[10]

On April 18 the article, in the form of printer's proof, was privately submitted for approval to two high authorities. It was submitted to Lord Aberdeen who cautiously gave only the facts his sanction.[11] It was sent in proof also to Edward Everett, and a week before it appeared in the *Examiner* it was on its way to the American Department of State.

In forwarding it to Washington, Everett wrote:

[9] The omitted portion is a brief discussion of claims.

[10] Everett to Senior, Apr. 5, 1845, Everett MSS.

[11] See *post*, p. 49.

It is scarcely necessary for me to disclaim an approval of every suggestion in this article, such for instance as that of the unconstitutionality of our settling Oregon. The whole is to be viewed as the production of a candid Englishman; and the leading idea, that of running the 49th parallel to the Sound between the main land and Quadra and Vancouver's island, thus giving to England the whole of that island and community of entrance by the Straits of Fuca, and securing to us all the main land south of 49 has ever been the mode of settling the controversy which I have deemed most likely to succeed and most advantageous to the U. States.[12]

On April 26 the article was offered to British readers as the *Examiner*'s leading editorial. It opened with a warm tribute to Lord Aberdeen, "a man who has the wisdom to detect and the courage to despise the vanity and want of real pride, which at present, much more than ambition or rapacity, lead nations to become instruments of mutual destruction. We congratulate the country that our minister prefers justice, moderation, and common sense to obstinacy or magniloquence, and 'keeping up a high tone.'" The Oregon country is valueless to England and similarly to America.

The only use of it to England is as a hunting ground, which enables the Hudson's Bay Company to keep up its monopoly against the English people—a monopoly which occasions many species of furs to be twice, and sometimes three times as dear in London as in Leipsic. The only use of it to America would be to make it an addition to territories already far too large for good government or even for civilization. . . . The only real point in dispute, therefore, is a point of honor; the only real question is, what is the *maximum* which either party can concede, or, which is the same, the minimum which either party can honorably accept. . . . From the Rocky mountains eastward, for more than 1000 miles, the 49th parallel of latitude divides the English possessions from those of the United States. So that the Oregon district above 49 is contiguous to the English territory and below 49 to the American. . . . South of the Straits of St. Juan de Fuca . . . there are no tolerable harbors; the only places of shelter are Port Bulfinch and the Columbia; but both are bar harbors, and at all times dangerous, and for the greater part of the year inaccessible. Above that Strait, and communicating with it, the harbors are numerous and excellent. . . . The soil is generally mountainous, rocky, and uncultivable, though there are some fertile alluvial bottoms. Of that portion which is south of the Straits of Fuca, not more than one-eighth or one-tenth is supposed to be reclaimable; and to the north of them the cultivable proportion is still less.

As for title to this inhospitable country, the writer concludes, after examining the question from the standpoint of discovery, contiguity, treaty, and settlement, neither country has one that is perfect. Arbitration is the mode of settlement eminently suited to the character of the dispute. Failing that the next best solution is to partition the country by the line of the 49th parallel to the coast.

[12] Everett to Buchanan, Apr. 18, 1845, Everett MSS.

This would give us the whole of Vancouvers Island, and an abundance of good harbors. It would also give us the country which is best for the purposes for which we use it, the fur trade. The furs to the north of the 49th parallel are better and more abundant than those to the south. All balancing, however, of the positive advantages to be obtained by the one nation or by the other on a partition is mere childishness. The interruption of confidence for a single week costs more than the whole country is worth. A mere armament, though followed by accommodation, would cost more than a thousand times its value. . . . Whatever be Lord Aberdeen's policy, the opposition will, we trust, not add to its difficulties.[13]

The article in this form seems to have produced in England relatively little stir. When it appeared popular excitement on the Oregon question had somewhat abated and the newspapers gave it slight notice. Edward Everett called it to the attention of the American consul at Paris with the suggestion that it be employed to strengthen the Oregon case of the United States in the French press.[14] In the United States the Washington *Daily Union,* the administration organ, reprinted it and gave it a nation-wide circulation.[15] Perhaps its chief usefulness was to lead Senior to take up his pen on the Oregon question again, and on a more ambitious scale.

For the new effort the forum chosen was the *Edinburgh Review,* the principal organ of the Whig party, and in Senior's opinion, "the most important political journal, except *The Times,* that now exists".[16] With Macvey Napier, the editor of the *Review,* Senior was in active correspondence in the spring of 1845. On April 18 he wrote:

I have read nearly all the facts and shall look into the public law. It [the public law] is as to title to unoccupied lands by discovery, by contiguity, by settlement, and by cession very vague. And this will be a good opportunity to try to settle it. Indeed even if the immediate matter of Oregon be settled by July it will still remain a matter of interest both historically and as a question of the law of nations. . . . I assuredly shall not let out that I am writing on Oregon except to those who must give me some material such as Everett and Van de Weyer, and them I can rely on.[17]

Seven weeks later Senior wrote Napier:

Pray send me 4 proofs, two for use, and one to shew to Lord Aberdeen, the other to shew to Mr. Everett. I shall return the proofs by return of post, but during the five days that must elapse before I receive a revise I shall get the

[13] London *Examiner,* Apr. 26, 1845.

[14] Everett to Walsh, May 1, 1845, Everett MSS.

[15] Washington *Daily Union,* May 23, 1845.

[16] Senior to Napier, Jan. 26, 1844, Napier MSS., British Museum.

[17] Apr. 18, 1845, Napier MSS.

criticisms of the two ministers and strike out anything which either of them may reasonably object to in the revise. I think I have made some good international law. You know that it is we, the text writers, who make that law.[18]

Macvey Napier responded with objections to Senior's request for proofs to be sent to Lord Aberdeen and Edward Everett. Well he might, for to admit into the chief organ of the Whig Opposition an article on an important issue in foreign relations, which had secretly been submitted for approval to the foreign secretary of the government and to the minister of the American government, was to court a journalistic disaster.

Senior was obliged to yield to the objections of the editor. "Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Everett", he explained, "are my personal acquaintances, perhaps I might say friends, and writing on a subject very difficult and intricate, and on which they have great knowledge, *and opposite interests,* I have naturally consulted them. From each of them I have had valuable hints and might have more if they saw the proofs. Since, however, you see objections to it I will not shew them. I must confess that I attached little importance to it."[19]

The article thus prepared appeared anonymously in the July, 1845, number of the *Edinburgh Review*. It was in form a review of earlier controversial Oregon treatises, those notably of Thomas Falconer, John Dunn, and Robert Greenhow. In reality it was the earlier *Examiner* article elaborated. It emphasized again the unattractiveness of Oregon, representing the whole country, with the exception of a few fertile valleys, to be a waste of mountain and desert. Oregon rivers were described as too much broken to be of value for trade; Oregon harbors were described as abundant north of the 49th parallel, "but down the whole coast of the Pacific, from latitude 48° to Port San Francisco, far within the Mexican frontier, there is no refuge except Bulfinch harbor and the Columbia—the former of which can be entered only by small vessels, and the latter is inaccessible for eight months of the year, and dangerous at all times". The fur trade, the mainstay of all that country, was shown to be a dying industry which the Hudson's Bay Company, even though enjoying a practical monopoly of it, found unprofitable.

"There are many single manufacturing establishments in England—such as the Great Western Cotton Factory in Bristol, or Mr. Marshall's in Leeds—which keep in activity a much larger capital, employ a much greater number of persons, and give a much larger annual produce." "All that any prudent Englishman or American can wish is that the

[18] June 9, 1845, Napier MSS.
[19] June 14, 1845, Napier MSS.

controversy should be speedily and honorably settled. A week's interruption of confidence—such, for instance, as followed the reception of Mr. Polk's inaugural speech—costs each party twenty times the value of the matter in dispute." Title to this unpromising country neither state can establish on the basis of discovery, treaty, or settlement. Each state has an imperfect title by contiguity to that part of it which lies adjacent to its own territories. The line of the 49th parallel to the straits is therefore from every point of view the best solution of the controversy.[20]

The publication of such an article in the chief Whig review a few months after Lord John Russell's aggressive speech replying to Polk was a party coup d'état. It had the immediate effect of bringing down a storm of Whig condemnation upon the heads of its author and editor.

Macaulay wrote to Napier:

> You have had some very good articles in the Review lately. If I were to offer any suggestion, it would be that you would be on your guard against Senior's views of our relations with America, particularly when his views are directly opposed to those of all the Tory and all the Whig statesmen in the Kingdom. The truth is that he is too deeply interested in the credit of the American States to be impartial. At all events nobody gives him credit for impartiality; and it a little derogates from the character of the Review to have it universally known, as it is, that the office of pronouncing judgment on a grave international question is confided to a person who cannot be unbiassed. If this were the feeling of Palmerston only, I should not mention it. For he is thought, justly or unjustly, by many of our own friends, to be too pugnacious on all points of controversy with Foreign Powers. But Clarendon, who has always been on the pacific and conceding side, Charles Greville, who is an excellent representative of good Conservative society, and others, have made the remark which I mention to you.[21]

Napier received letters of similar objection from other Whigs. Lord John Russell, Lord Monteagle, Lord Jeffrey (former editor of the *Review*), William Empson, soon to be the editor, Andrew Doyle, editor of the *Morning Chronicle,* and Thomas Falconer, the pamphleteer, all voiced their disapproval. They buzzed for months like disturbed hornets about the ears of the venerable editor. As for Senior, the judgment passed on him by his party, according to William Empson, was "that to preserve a better dividend on his trans-Atlantic stock he wd. not only give up the Colombia [*sic*] but the Clyde".[22]

Senior wrote to Napier in reply to such critics:

[20] *Edinburgh Review*, LXXXII, 238–265.

[21] Napier, p. 500.

[22] Empson to Napier, Sept. 2, 1845, Napier MSS.

I have £1500 in the New York Trust Company producing me about £90 a year, less than a fortieth part of my income. That is my whole interest in America. I had in 1839 £10,000 in the American Trust Company, but it became bankrupt in that year and it is utterly impossible, and indeed has been so for the last 4 years, that I shd ever receive a farthing for it. I shd sell it for five pounds. That is all my special interest in America, and as they have in fact robbed me of £10,000 you may easily suppose that I have no very friendly feelings towards them.

But I own that I do feel a most strong interest pecuniary and moral, in keeping the two countries at peace. I believe that a war with America would produce a war with France, and that commercial ruin, national bankruptcy and revolution might be the consequences. I believe that a war with America wd. produce worse consequences than pestilence or famine. In short I hope to die before I see the results. Under such circumstances you may believe that I heard with great alarm the discussion on Lord Clarendon's motion. That alarm was increased when I talked the matter over with him and Lord Ashburton. The Whig party seemed to me to be ready to sacrifice peace to the wish to embarrass their opponents, and the whole country seemed so totally to misunderstand the case that I feared they wd. entertain prejudices and advance pretensions from which there wd. be no receding. As there was no time to be lost I wrote a paragraph for the Examiner, of which I send you the slip. But, being very anxious not to be wrong in any of my facts, I sent the proof to Lord Aberdeen. I send you in great confidence his answer. You will see that he sanctions *all* my facts. On comparing the article with that in the Edinburg you will of course see the coincidence which must occur when the same person writes twice on the same subject. . . .

You know that I was so anxious to be accurate that I wished to submit the proofs to Lord Aberdeen. This is a sufficient proof that I was convinced of the accuracy of my statements. I regretted then, and I regret now, that you thought it not advisable. I was also anxious, as you know, to submit them to Mr. Everett. In short I wrote that paper with the most anxious desire to be accurate in every detail. . . .

Of course it is attacked. Every impartial discussion, every decision on complicated questions which does not flatter national prejudices and national vanity will be attacked. Of course base and unworthy motives will be assigned. But I have lived too long in the political world to care about such attacks or such imputations. . . .

P. S. On looking at your letter again I see that you tell Mr. Falconer that you *will send to me his letter*. Now if *his first letter*, talking of a fear for American investments came before me regularly, the only answer must be a challenge, or a criminal information for libel. Now I have no wish to put myself on a level with Mr. Falconer, or to waste money in prosecuting him. I wish therefore that he shd not understand that you have *sent to me his letters*, but that you have merely communicated their general contents. . . . Of course you will not mention Lord Aberdeen's note—pray return it.[23]

As late as the autumn of 1845 the hapless Napier was still defending, explaining, and apologizing for the Senior article. On October 7, in accepting a proposal from Lord John Russell to write for the *Review* an appreciation of earls Grey and Spencer, he went on:

[23] Senior to Napier, Aug. 27, 1845, Napier MSS.

Will your Lordship allow me to avail myself of this opportunity to say a few words about a late article, which occasioned, as many of my friends, amongst others Mr. Macaulay have told me, a good deal of surprise that it shd have appeared in the Ed. Rev. on what has been called the "Oregon Question"? The surprise, as I understood the matter, was mainly owing to its having advocated a view of that Question decidedly at variance with that expressed by your Lordship and the Party generally; but there was also a separate ground, namely, that I should have committed such an article to one who was represented as having strong American interests as a sharer of American stocks, and therefore unlikely to write impartially on the subject. With respect to the first ground, I confess that I was not at the time so well acquainted with what had passed in Parliament upon the subject, as I ought perhaps to have been, before committing the Review to the side taken; and as I was impressed, ignorantly it may be, with an idea of the worthlessness of the possession, and of the tremendous evils that would result from a war with America, I certainly thought that I was doing a service to the country and the world in employing the Review, as far as possible, to avert such a calamity. Nevertheless, I would have paused had I known at the time the strong opinion that had been expressed by your Lordship; and had I supposed that Mr. Senior's views might be warped by personal interests, nothing could have induced me to commit the discussion to him. But I did not know that he then, or at any time, had invested a large sum (£10,000) in the New York Trust Company; and in point of fact, and in justice to him, who was greatly misrepresented in this particular, it is right to add, that four or five years *before,* he had lost the whole of that sum by the failure of that concern, and could not therefore have had any kind side to America. . . .[24]

Lord John Russell replied:

I think the appearance of the Oregon article was unfortunate. Not because, in a party view, it was at all necessary that the Edinburgh Review should write in accordance with my sentiments on such a subject, but the premature exhibition of a difference in treating the question, when all parties in Parliament had been unanimous, was likely to prejudice our negotiations at Washington. I am glad to be assured that Mr. Senior has no pecuniary interest in the abandonment of British rights.[25]

Senior's comment to Napier on being shown this letter was an amplification of his purposes in writing his article.

On the Oregon question I think Lord John wrong. Both Lord Aberdeen and Everett, each most anxious for peace, were also anxious that the case shd be fairly stated, thinking it much easier to come to an accommodation when the British public had been informed of the true state of the question than when they were blindly fancying that America was bullying them out of their rights. While we demanded the Columbia, to which we have not a shadow of claim, America naturally extended her demands to the 54th parallel, with equal but not greater absurdity. And adjustment seemed impossible. On matters of this importance I always wish the whole truth to be told, holding

[24] Napier to Russell, Oct. 7, 1845, Russell MSS., Public Record Office.

[25] Napier, p. 501.

that the country has no more mischievous enemies than those who encourage its arrogance and impertinence by *suggestio falsi* or *suppressio veri*.

The real objection to the article among the thorough going party men is that it deprives them of a weapon against Lord Aberdeen. I never was one of those men, or you either, and I have no sympathy with them—nor shall I ever hesitate to oppose them.[26]

But to deprive thoroughgoing party men of a weapon against Lord Aberdeen required an arm more potent even than the *Edinburgh Review*. It required the London *Times*. The *Times* had an influence over public opinion in England that was proverbial. Its readers were of all political parties, attracted to it by the brilliance of its editorial page, the enterprise of its newsgathering under John Walter, and the tradition it had established during its long history, of freedom from outside control, of independence from the dictation of party or government. Other London dailies were known to be committed on major political issues: the *Globe* and the *Morning Chronicle* to Whiggism, the latter particularly to Lord Palmerston; the *Standard* and the *Morning Herald* to the Conservative government; and the *Morning Post* to ultra Toryism and particularly to protectionism. The *Times* alone, among all London dailies, was uncontrolled; it alone was capable of attacking simultaneously and with the same vigor ministers of the government and leaders of the Opposition—for instance Sir James Graham of Peel's cabinet at the same time as Lord Palmerston.

But in the period under review the *Times* made one exception to such independence—it gave its allegiance to Lord Aberdeen. It constituted itself his special champion, defending without deviation his foreign policies, and thundering incessantly against his great Opposition critic, Lord Palmerston. It was to Lord Aberdeen what the *Morning Chronicle* was to the Whig viscount. At Lord Aberdeen's feet it laid the magnificent reputation it had built up of political independence. To the public it appeared quite free; but its columns in foreign matters were in fact pledged. On every important issue of external policy its editor was secretly taking his cues from the foreign office.

To Lord Aberdeen it was bound by various ties. At first, they were impersonal—a common interest in a peace policy that was deemed essential to the recovery of British trade. The *Times* had championed Lord Aberdeen and savagely denounced Palmerston on this score even before the fall of the Whigs in 1841. With Lord Aberdeen's advent to office a more personal relationship was established. The editor of the *Times* was John Delane, newly appointed, an untried youth of the age of twenty-

[26] Senior to Napier, Oct. 17, 1845, Napier MSS.

three. Lord Aberdeen was a world figure, a favorite of the queen, respected and trusted by politicians of both British parties. The earl took the young man promptly into his confidence. For an ambitious editor this was a relationship of great professional advantage. It led to a personal friendship and by the end of 1842 Delane was able to invoke his patron's influence with Sir Robert Peel for the promotion of a brother in the customs.

"I enclose", Aberdeen wrote Peel in December, 1842, "an application from Mr. Delane of the 'Times' who appears to have already been a suitor at the Treasury. He seems to be perfectly well disposed and ready to make his paper of as much use to us as possible."[27] Promotion at this time in the customs was wholly in the hands of a board of customs commissioners from which Peel was reluctant to ask favors. He wrote Aberdeen that he had never before interfered with the board in a question of advancement, but that in this case he would so far depart from his rule as to intimate to the chairman that he would be personally gratified if the promotion could, consistently with justice, be made; and this turned out ultimately to be sufficient.[28]

But for a *Times* editor greater value lay in another form of patronage —the receiving from a minister advance news of important government happenings. Such news Lord Aberdeen gave Delane on frequent occasions. He gave it even occasionally in matters outside his own sphere, taking care in such cases to gain the previous approval of Sir Robert Peel. In the spring of 1844, for instance, Aberdeen asked Peel's permission to send Delane advance information of the sensational developments in the recall of Lord Ellenborough by the directors of the East India Company. "The *Times*", he wrote, "is disposed to act a very friendly part in our dispute with the Directors. This disposition it may be important to encourage. I have just received the inclosed note from the Editor, which I should be glad to be able to answer in such a manner as to give him earlier information than any of his brethren of the fact which he desires to know. I suppose anything at present would be premature, but if you can let me communicate the intelligence at the first moment it may be practicable, I think it would be of much use."[29]

So close were the relations of the foreign office and the *Times* that Peel found it necessary more than once to intervene in the interest of newspapers more wholly supporting the government. The *Standard* and

[27] Aberdeen to Peel, Dec. 24, 1842, Peel MSS., British Museum.

[28] Peel to Aberdeen, Dec. 28, 1842, Peel MSS.

[29] Aberdeen to Peel, May 3, 1844, Peel MSS.

the *Morning Herald* made complaint to the prime minister in the spring of 1844 that they received so little favor at the British embassy in Paris compared with the *Times* as to create the impression that they had lost the confidence of the British administration, which affected adversely their communications with the French government. Peel felt it necessary to bring the matter to the notice of his foreign secretary, and the latter had to write the British ambassador in Paris that it would be unwise, in the effort to gain the powerful support of the *Times,* "really to injure that portion of the daily press upon which we can rely".[30]

Again a few months later Peel was obliged to interfere. He wrote Aberdeen:

> I think you should seriously consider whether it is fitting that any sort of friendly connection should be continued between the *Times* and the Foreign Office. It is hardly fair towards the newspapers that support the Government, and all the departments of the Government that the *Times* should appear to the world to receive information from the F. O. or to stand in any sort of amicable relation to the foreign office. For myself I care very little about the *Times* or its abuse, but the language of the *Times,* inspired by personal enemies in the House of Commons, is scandalous towards Graham. I think the discontinuance of all communications from the F. O. with the *Times* and the transference of the existing relation with that Paper to some other would do more to keep the *Times* in order than the showing to it any favor.[31]

But Lord Aberdeen thought otherwise and quietly continued his partiality to Delane. He gave Delane in December, 1845, the opportunity to win the greatest newspaper scoop of the day. The incident grew out of the Corn Law crisis. The Irish potato crop had failed and the harvest seemed short in other parts of the United Kingdom. The prospect of famine seemed so grave that Peel's cabinet considered opening British ports to foreign food by abolishing the Corn Laws. The chief advocate of such a course was the prime minister himself, but in view of the fact that his government rested on Protectionist support he felt unable to venture it in Parliament without the unanimous approval of his colleagues. This he could not command. While the discussions were secretly proceeding, on December 3, Lord Aberdeen sent for the editor of the *Times* and informed him that Peel was determined to abolish the Corn Laws, that he had threatened to resign unless his will were obeyed, and that the chief objectors in the cabinet had submitted. On the following day the *Times* announced with an air of cer-

[30] Aberdeen to Cowley, May 7, 1844, Aberdeen MSS., British Museum.

[31] Peel to Aberdeen, July 6, 1844, Peel MSS.

tainty and authority to an astonished world that the discussions in the cabinet had terminated in a resolution to call Parliament together early in January for the purpose of proposing a total repeal of the Corn Laws, and that the Duke of Wellington had not only given his consent but was to bring forward the measure in the House of Lords. Such an announcement went beyond the facts disclosed, as became apparent two days later when the Peel cabinet dissolved, but there was sufficient truth in it to make it a tremendous journalistic triumph, one that set the whole of England agog and British society for years to gossiping as to the *Times'* sources of information.[32]

The Corn Law crisis followed. It reacted on the Oregon question significantly if indirectly. Peel's cabinet in the crisis dissolved. The formation of a Whig government was undertaken by Lord John Russell. To the foreign office was named Lord Palmerston. Lord Palmerston while foreign secretary in Melbourne's government and as Opposition leader in the attack on Lord Aberdeen had established a reputation for belligerence and recklessness in external affairs. Even in his own party he was regarded with apprehension. Earl Grey refused to enter a ministry in which he held the seals of the foreign office.[33] On this rock the Whig attempt at government wrecked. Sir Robert Peel had to be recalled. He reorganized his cabinet and with the aid of free trade Whigs proceeded to the repeal of the Corn Laws. To Lord Aberdeen in the new ministry a freer hand could be given than in the old. The revolt against Palmerston in the Whig party had reduced the hazards of a foreign policy of conciliation. Freedom to convert the British public to such concessions as might be necessary for an Oregon treaty seems to have been given Lord Aberdeen at the beginning of 1846.

In the meantime events occurring in Washington had emphasized the urgency of an Oregon settlement. An offer had been made by the American government to partition Oregon by the line of the 49th parallel to the sea. This the British minister, Sir Richard Pakenham, had summarily rejected without so much as referring it to his government. By the American government it had been immediately withdrawn and no renewal of it could be extracted from President Polk though the summary rejection was by the British government promptly disavowed. By the close of 1845 the Oregon issue had thus relapsed into a dangerous state of diplomatic deadlock.

[32] For gossip concerning the episode that found its way into fiction, see George Meredith, *Diana of the Crossways;* S. V. Makower, *Some Notes upon The Times,* pp. 21–23.

[33] See *ante,* note 4.

Such was the political and international weather in which Lord Aberdeen garnered the fruits of his favors to the *Times*. On January 3 the *Times* printed a leading editorial on the Oregon question. It was marked by more than ordinary penetration and information, and its tone was that of responsibility and authority. It opened with a recognition that joint occupation of Oregon by the settlers of the two countries was no longer expedient; that the territory ought to be partitioned. The two states were asserted to have equal rights there arising from an occupation that was nearly identical in time and similar in purpose. Any partition ought, therefore, to be one of even advantage. If a greater share was to be accorded to the United States than to England it must be in recognition, not of right, but of those considerations which the proximity, numbers, and past labors of the American settlers introduced as necessary elements into the question, considerations which in all such important matters it was impossible to merge in the technicalities of law or the minutiae of title. But care must be taken in such a division not to deprive British settlers of those advantages which are indispensable to the prosecution of their trade, such as the great water privilege of the Columbia and the harbor at its mouth. An important element in any partition was the fact that the boundary of the two states east of the Rocky Mountains was the 49th parallel. The editorial continued:

> We think, then, that every purpose both of honour and interest would be answered, if the British Minister, on whom now devolves the duty of making fresh proposals to the Government of the United States, were to renew on his part the offer made to England by Mr. Gallatin in the presidency and under the direction of Mr. Adams. That proposal was to take the 49th degree of north latitude as far as the sea as the boundary line, reserving to Great Britain Vancouver's Island, the harbour of St. Juan de Fuca, and the free navigation of the Columbia. This would be a concession as far as superficial area of ground is concerned. It would leave the United States masters of the greater part of Oregon. But it would secure the principal advantage of the country, the free navigation of the Columbia, to the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as harbourage, anchorage, and settlements for English vessels trading with China and our possessions in Australia and New Zealand. . . .
>
> We hope that no rules of diplomatic etiquette will prevent our representative at Washington from making some proposal of this kind. We hope, also, that no false pride, or more ignoble sentiment, will preclude the Ministry of Washington from accepting it. And if they do reject it as coming from us, we do not see how, after such a rejection, they can refuse to submit the question of miles still left in dispute to the arbitration of some neutral Power. . . .
>
> That there are men in America who long for a war with Great Britain is, we fear, no less true than that there are men in this country to whom a

war with the United States would be by no means unwelcome. But we would fain express a hope that the statesmen of the Republic are no more amenable than the Ministers of England to the influence of the most violent or the most thoughtless among their countrymen. And, more than this, we firmly believe that in both countries, the real strength of public opinion is arrayed against a belligerent policy. The relations of commerce—the affections of kindred—identity of origin, of language, and laws—the common pursuit of similar objects, the common prevalence of similar sentiments, and the common deference to the same principles of moral action—bind the two nations together by ties which it would be atrocious to sever by the sword. We are two people, but we are of one family. We have fought, but we have been reconciled. Let us hope that neither the memory of ancient feuds, nor the jealousy of present power, survive the recorded amity which ended a sanguinary struggle. . . .[34]

Such an appeal in the *Times* was impressive. It was especially so in view of the extraordinary conversion which it represented. For years the *Times* had been a savage critic of America and on the Oregon question particularly it had been uncompromisingly hostile. It had replied to the inaugural statement of Polk concerning the movement of American pioneers into Oregon with the words: "in spite of his marauders, and what he terms his constitutional rights, the territory of Oregon will never be wrested from the British Crown, to which it belongs, but by war".[35] It had denounced the Senior article in the *Edinburgh Review* as "mischievous". "The writer", it observed, "evidently belongs to that class of speculative politicians who affect to scorn the maritime power and colonial empire of their country."[36] As late as December 2, 1845, in commenting on the rejection by the British minister in Washington of the American offer of the 49th parallel, it had declared: "To accept under existing circumstances an offer which we deliberately rejected on three former occasions, and which involves the actual abandonment of the most important settlements of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the whole valley of the Columbia, is altogether out of the question." Hardly more than a month separated this editorial from the appeal of January 3 for peace.

That the conversion of the *Times* was an inspired one was whispered in high places. "In the highest diplomatic circle in London", Daniel Webster informed a friend on February 2, 1846, "it is *asserted* that the article in the Times of Jan. 3rd speaks the sentiments of the Foreign Office."[37] Proof of such connection was, of course, absent. Lord Aber-

[34] London *Times*, Jan. 3, 1846.

[35] *Ibid.*, Mar. 28, 1845.

[36] *Ibid.*, July 19, 1845.

[37] Webster to Curtis, Feb. 2, 1846, Webster MSS., Library of Congress.

deen was too experienced a diplomat to commit himself in any transaction of that kind to paper. But in reply to a personal appeal from Edward Everett for an Oregon treaty on the basis of the line of the 49th parallel to the straits he called Everett's attention particularly to the *Times* editorial and commended it as being "temperately written".[38]

"If", Everett replied, "it [the editorial] is an indication of the course you are willing to pursue, it is all we can reasonably expect. It is only to be regretted that so much importance is attached to the navigation of the river which as I have already said is not navigable up to the 49th degree."[39]

Edward Everett promptly relayed Lord Aberdeen's hint as to the editorial to George Bancroft, a member of the Polk Cabinet. "The article in *The Times* of 3d January", he said, "was evidently written under the inspiration of the Foreign office. That Journal is very far from being an organ of the ministry. It keeps no terms with Sir R. Peel or Sir James Graham, but it always treats Lord Aberdeen with respect and occasionally receives suggestions from the Foreign office."[40]

The conversion of the *Times* was a signal triumph for peace. The January 3 editorial was followed by others of like tenor. The weight and drive of the monarch of British journalism was brought in the most crucial months of the Oregon negotiation to the service of peace. Respectability and standing were given to the policy of concession. A rallying point for the scattered forces of peace in the kingdom was established, one around which Liberal and independent journals in particular gathered—weeklies like the London *Spectator* and *Examiner,* and influential provincial papers such as the *Manchester Guardian,* the Liverpool *Times,* and the *Leeds Mercury.* A whole segment of British political thought was thus mobilized for peace, a segment that under less

[38] Aberdeen to Everett, Jan. 3, 1846, Aberdeen MSS.

[39] Everett to Aberdeen, Jan. 28, 1846, Aberdeen MSS. Everett went on in this letter to say, "The *Times* commits the error, almost universal with those who discuss the subject, of speaking of the territory to be divided between us as lying between the 42^{d} degree and the 54° 40′, and consequently as being equally divisible by the 48th parallel. The territory to be divided is bounded on the north by the Arctic Sea. This is a very important point by way of reconciling your people to the 49th." The view that the claims of the United States to Oregon extended to the Arctic Sea was a pet one of Edward Everett. He developed it as an aid to Lord Aberdeen "by way of reconciling your people to the 49th". That he should have done this while he was American minister in England is a commentary on the nature of the Oregon problem.

[40] Everett to Bancroft, Feb. 2, 1846, Everett MSS. In the Washington *Daily Union,* the administration organ, the hand of the foreign office in the *Times* editorial of January 3 was recognized as early as February 2, 1846.

auspicious circumstances might have been a recruiting ground for the Opposition.

Preparation of the divergent ranks of the Conservative party for a treaty of renunciation was also necessary. This was undertaken by Lord Aberdeen relatively late, for it was the part of wisdom that other than organs of the ministry should take the lead in urging Oregon concession. Indeed the *Quarterly Review,* the Conservative journal, was employed only after it had practically ceased to be in the ministry's service. Lord Aberdeen's essayist in the *Quarterly* was J. W. Croker, a well-known Tory politician, an ex-secretary of the admiralty, a privy councilor, a founder of the *Quarterly,* and for many years an anonymous defender there of the policies of Sir Robert Peel. In January, 1846, he had ceased to be either the defender or the friend of the prime minister. The Corn Laws, which Peel was abolishing, he regarded as the very bulwark of the British constitution, and in defense of them he had gone into a despondent opposition. He remained loyal, however, to Lord Aberdeen, and his influence with the *Quarterly* was valuable as a pledge that the paper would not be used by embittered Tories to turn a rebel gunfire on the foreign office.

"Though I am miserably disheartened at our political prospects at home and *therefore* abroad", Croker wrote Lord Aberdeen on January 27, "yet having formerly looked a little at this Oregon question, and now believing that it will lead to a war in which England has all to lose and nothing to gain, I should like to follow its progress and record my opinion about it, and I therefore shall be very glad to see the private memorandum you mention, and if you will send it next door to Mr. Barrow at the Colonial office, he will bring it to me." [41]

A correspondence of two months ensued devoted to the preparation of the proposed article. Croker requested and received from Lord Aberdeen constant aid, explanations of obscure points, influence in obtaining information from the Hudson's Bay Company, and the loan from the foreign office of confidential documents. A study of three weeks was, however, all the author needed to arrive at his conclusions. "My own opinion", he wrote Lord Aberdeen, "from my slight inspection of the books, maps, and negociations, is that the American offer of 49° with a *free Columbia* ought to have been accepted, and would now be the best arrangement. I hardly think the right bank of the Columbia worth holding out for, with so good harbourage in our own division. If you are at liberty, give me a hint how you, not Mr. Secretary

[41] Croker to Aberdeen, Jan. 27, 1846, Aberdeen MSS.

of State, but *Lord Aberdeen,* feel on that point. . . ." [42] Lord Aberdeen's response to this request does not appear in the correspondence. If he sent any it was probably promptly committed by request to the fire. On March 20 Croker wrote: "I am expecting your commands on my article which now only waits the return of my proof." [43] On the next day, "Thank you for your notes, which shall be gratefully adopted, and I shall afterwards return them to you to be put into your own fire, though heaven knows there is no need of secret about them, but that it would be too *Yankee* to have it supposed that a Secretary of State sanctions the speculations of a Reviewer." [44] By March 26 the article was ready for the press. "I return you", Croker wrote, "the two cahiers of dispatches which you lent me and desired to have returned. I hope you will think that considering that the Q. R. has (*not* gone into but) been placed in *opposition,* I have handled the Foreign portion of the affair satisfactorily. I am satisfied that there is *now* no other solution possible. . . ." [45]

The solution thus evolved appeared in the guise of an anonymous review in the March number. It bore a striking resemblance to the solutions of the other essayists who had been in communication with Lord Aberdeen. Introducing it was the same type of argument. Neither the United States nor England has a good title to the entirety of Oregon. The question is one of mixed right, and the solution ought therefore to be one based on the doctrine of convenience. The United States on that basis is entitled to its share of the harbors lying inside the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the only safe harbors on the coast as far south as the Mexican port of San Francisco. This involves giving up the Columbia, which is, however, a slight sacrifice as the river is unnavigable throughout its middle reaches and, at its mouth, inaccessible for nine months of the year. "We may regret the loss of the agricultural establishments on the Cowlitz, at Fort Vancouver, and in Puget's Sound; of which, however, the last only is, we believe, of any importance; as to the original object of the posts on the Lower Columbia—the fur trade—it is diminishing so rapidly that the loss will be inconsiderable; and we cannot doubt that our traders will find in Fraser's River and the extensive shores to be appropriated to them, various opportunities of internal communication where they will be safe from rivalry and interruption." It is to be hoped, therefore, that the British government will propose to the Amer-

[42] Feb. 17, 1846, Aberdeen MSS.
[43] Mar. 20, 1846, Aberdeen MSS.
[44] Mar. 21, 1846, Aberdeen MSS.
[45] Mar. 26, 1846, Aberdeen MSS.

ican a partition of the disputed country by the line of the 49th parallel to the straits.

For fear Tory readers of the *Quarterly* might suspect that the article was a reflection of the wishes of the government there was inserted in it this amiable assurance: "There have been heretofore occasions, not a few, on which we have been able to advise our readers on authority higher than that of a mere literary fraternity—but it is needless to disclaim any ministerial influence or responsibility for our present opinions."[46] The Tory orthodoxy of the article was further guaranteed by the fact that in a lengthy postscript, the repeal of the Corn Laws was bitterly bewailed.

In London diplomatic circles the authorship of the article, despite its anonymity, was soon known and its source of inspiration suspected. "It is quite possible", wrote Louis McLane in a private letter to the American Secretary of State, forwarding the article, "that the disposition now manifested by this Government to gain time may in part proceed from a desire to prepare the public in various ways for a basis of partition which Ministers have made up their minds to offer; and I rather think the article in the Quarterly is one of the means employed for that purpose."[47]

Another means of preparing the British public for concession was to discourage contentious literature regarding Oregon. That was done in the case of Thomas Falconer. Falconer was editor nominally of the *Westminster Review,* though better known to posterity for his pamphlet on the Oregon question, published in 1845, in which he reviewed the claims of the United States to Oregon in a polemical spirit. In the spring of 1846 he called the attention of the foreign office, as a matter of patriotic zeal, to a pamphlet published shortly before in New York defending British rights to Oregon and rebuking the American State Department for its stand in the controversy.[48] Falconer suggested that the pamphlet be republished in England at the cost of the government, offering to enhance its value by a foreword. The dry response which Lord Aberdeen directed to be sent to him was "that he considers the value of such a pamphlet . . . to be great in influencing the public mind in America, and he looks therefore on its publication in the U. States as likely to produce excellent results. But he does not believe that its

[46] *Quarterly Review,* LXXVII, 599.

[47] McLane to Buchanan, Apr. 3, 1846, Buchanan MSS.

[48] The pamphlet was published anonymously under the title, *Tracts on the Oregon Question.* I have found no copy of it, but it is described in the London *Times* of April 11, 1846.

republication in England would be of much utility, especially after Dr. Twiss's work and the various other treatises on Oregon which have appeared of late, and which have pretty well exhausted the subject." [49]

Such preparation of the British public for a treaty of concession was effective. The various sects of British politics were converted, each from its own pulpit, to the gospel of conciliation. The poisons left by the Polk inaugural were removed, the tension of controversy was relaxed, the forces of the Opposition were disarmed. In the spring of 1846, when the Oregon negotiations were reopened in London, Lord Aberdeen was able to offer the American government a treaty project that upon its arrival in Washington was accepted without alteration by the American Senate. By the British public the ratified treaty was accepted with the same good will. Though the settlement was a capitulation, compared with the terms insisted upon by earlier British governments or compared with the Ashburton Treaty, it was hailed even by Opposition spokesmen as satisfactory. In the sigh of relief which greeted the news of the treaty in the whole British press, in the sigh of party envy that escaped Whig politicians,[50] in the instantaneous disappearance of the Oregon question thereafter from the horizon of British politics was proof of the effectiveness of Lord Aberdeen's propaganda.

In the crises of Anglo-American diplomacy government recourse to propaganda has been common. It has increased with the democratization of the suffrage. In England it increased with the Reform Act of 1832 and culminated in the intensive campaign of international proselytizing that marked the period of the World War. Of this development a comprehensive history, though vital to an understanding of Anglo-American diplomacy, has never been written. Lord Aberdeen's Oregon effort can therefore be measured in perspective only tentatively. It was the effort of a none too aggressive craftsman. Lord Aberdeen, as a Conservative, had little taste for the task of adjusting the technique of diplomacy to the advance of democracy. His great Whig rival, Lord Palmerston, was the master of propaganda in the foreign affairs of the period, with a proficiency in the art that helps to explain the hold he had on the British public and the terror he inspired when he was in Opposition. Yet Lord Aberdeen was not wholly a novice in the art as appears from the evidence, fragmentary and elusive though it is, pre-

[49] Addington to Falconer, Apr. 15, 1846, F. O. 5/460.

[50] Lord Fitzwilliam wrote concerning Peel's valedictory to the Duke of Bedford on June 30, 1846, "I have now heard the whole—good—full of clap-trap—and what a God-send for him from America!" Russell MSS.

sented in this paper. His objectives rather than his skill distinguished him from his rival. In the Oregon crisis he used the art to guide the British public toward a treaty of renunciation, to win through the columns of the British press the peace of 1846.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

An International Debt Settlement: the North Carolina Debt to France

International debts are to-day in the foreground of world discussion. At such a time it is of interest to recall an episode in North Carolina history which presented in miniature some of the elements of the present problems, particularly the difficulty of transferring payments. The parties to this debt settlement were North Carolina, France, and Martinique.

For some years before the Revolution, North Carolinians had carried on trade with Martinique in rum, tobacco, and war supplies. In 1779, Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, a leading citizen of the state, was appointed to conduct foreign trade and to borrow for the state up to 20,000 pounds sterling in the West Indies. He was unsuccessful in his mission, although he reported that a large supply of arms and ammunition might be obtained in the West Indies if remittance could be made.[1]

On June 14, 1781, the Marquis de Bretigney,[2] having volunteered his services, was appointed as agent for the state in the French islands of the West Indies. He was instructed to negotiate with the governor of Martinique and to ask him to supply goods on credit. He was empowered "to pledge the Faith of the State for the paying and fulfilling such Contracts as he, our said Agent, may enter into for procuring . . . Military Stores".[3]

During the ensuing year the marquis delivered to the state various war supplies from Martinique. It is uncertain from whom he purchased these goods. At one time he implied that the merchants of Martinique had furnished them on credit, and were thus creditors of the state. But he had been instructed to deal with the governor of Martinique, and all other correspondence on the matter indicates that the debt was owed to the government of that island. On the other hand, an extract from the account book of the consul general of France to the United States is

[1] *The State Records of North Carolina* [cited hereafter as *S. R.*], XIV, iv–v; V, 337–338.

[2] This name appears with several variations in spelling, but the above seems to be correct. Almost nothing is available concerning the life of the marquis, but apparently he acted at one time as an agent of the Continental Congress in the West Indies.

[3] *S. R.*, XVII, 799–801.

headed, "The Navy Department of France in account with the State of North Carolina for supplies delivered out of the King's Stores at Martinico to the agent and for the use of the State".[4] Since Martinique was a colony of France, which was then at war with England, and in view of later developments in the collection of the debt, it seems probable that the goods came from the French government. The marquis had reasons of his own for wanting the amount of the debt paid to him immediately.

The exact amount of the debt is also uncertain. A special committee of the general assembly reported on May 13, 1783, that the original amount of the debt was £3099, specie, of which the state had paid £734, leaving £2365, plus interest, as the amount due.[5] These figures were presumably based upon accounts submitted by Bretigney, although it was not so stated. Since the Spanish milled dollar, which was widely used in the colonies about this time, was rated at two and a half dollars per pound, the amount here given was equal to 5912.50 dollars. Another legislative committee reported in 1784 that the amount of the debt was "thirty-two thousand four hundred livres being at five livres eight sous Tournois the dollar—Six thousand Dollars".[6] The account book of the French consul general, referred to above, gave the amount as 5487 32/96 dollars. This is the amount recorded in the only state account still extant on the matter, and the one usually accepted in the discussions. It seems to be the amount which was eventually paid.

Governor Martin wrote to Bretigney on May 19, 1782, notifying him that the need for his services was at an end, and requesting him to return "as soon as convenient, to receive a generous compensation for your services, promised you at your appointment".[7] Shortly afterward, the marquis arrived in North Carolina to urge payment of the debt. On August 16, the governor ordered his accounts audited, and in April, 1783, he presented the matter to the general assembly, stating, "The great attachment this Gentleman of France has discovered for the liberties of America, and his zeal to serve this State in particular, in the hour of danger, justly entitles him to particular attention from the legislature". After unsuccessfully offering Bretigney certain supplies in part payment, the legislature finally authorized payment in full.[8] Warrants to the amount of £2365 were issued as directed and the marquis received

[4] Legislative Papers, North Carolina Historical Commission.
[5] *S. R.*, XIX, 345.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 646.
[7] *Ibid.*, XVI, 327.
[8] *Ibid.*, XVI, 778–779; XIX, 345.

the money. But nothing further was ever heard of either him or the money!

Later in the year 1783, the minister of France wrote to Governor Martin concerning the debt. When the matter came before the legislature in 1784, a special committee recommended payment of the debt with interest, but expressed the opinion that a part had been paid to Bretigney. The committee advised that the matter be left with the comptroller, who should receive "from him [the marquis] all the money paid by this State to him for the Government of Martinique, and which has not been remitted by him for that purpose".[9] The legislature concurred in this recommendation. In 1788 another committee pointed out,[10] "the necessity of the comptroller's reporting to the Treasurer the balance due from the Marquis de Bretigney on account of the Sum of money advanced to him for the purpose of paying the above debt, and that the Treasurer commence suit immediately for the same". No record of any such suit is found. The state had paid out funds to the amount of the debt, but had failed to cancel the obligation.

Beginning in 1782, the French consular and diplomatic officials undertook negotiations to secure payment of the debt. From the French minister and from French consuls at Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Charleston, Governor Martin and representatives of the state in Congress received scores of communications. Quite polite and formal at first, the tone of these notes became increasingly firm and insistent as time passed. In the course of the correspondence, the French offered to receive payment at either Martinique, New York, or Philadelphia, at the convenience of the state. The state's delegates in Congress expressed annoyance at the many requests, and insisted that the legislature settle the matter as soon as possible.

The general assembly of 1784 authorized the governor to pay the debt as soon as money was available. Writing to the French minister in June, 1784, the governor stated that no funds were available at that time, but that: "the first collections shall be set apart to reimburse this money. . . . As the principal collection of money will be in paper some produce of the State must be purchased with the same and a remittance made to Martinique or Philadelphia as will be thought advisable by your Excellency, this however will be attended with some delay. . . ." [11] The money here referred to was paper money of the state, which was

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 646–647.

[10] Journal of the House of Commons, 1788, p. 45.

[11] *S. R.*, XVII, 76–79.

the only important medium of exchange then circulating in North Carolina. Due to the conditions of the time, it was not acceptable in Philadelphia for such a purpose as this. Thus the transfer problem became acute.

In order to overcome the difficulties of this problem of transfer, the governor requested the services of Messrs. John G. and Thomas Blount, prominent merchants of Washington, N. C., who carried on trade with the large cities of this country and Europe. He wrote to them on December 3, 1784, stating that he was sending state warrants for £1200, which they were asked "to dispose of in the manner you shall best judge to effect a payment to as large amount and as speedily as possible, in Philadelphia to M. Marbois".[12] The Blounts accepted the mission and invested the proceeds of the warrants in naval stores to be sent to Philadelphia and sold. Later other warrants to the amount of £1300 were issued to them, but they returned them, since the loss on the first had been so heavy.

The Blounts encountered many delays, and, according to records now available, never made any complete report on the funds placed in their hands. After more than two years, the accounts of the French agent in New York showed that he had received three payments amounting to £264 17*s*. 8*d*. These had been transferred from Philadelphia, and presumably represent proceeds from the goods sold by the Blounts. A committee of the general assembly in 1788 recommended that, "the Treasurer request Messrs. John Gray and Thomas Blount to make an immediate settlement and pay up the balance, with interest, remaining in their hands on account of the Sums advanced them for the above purpose, and that on failure therein he institute a suit for the recovery thereof and make report thereof to the Next General Assembly".[13] No record of either suit or settlement can be found. In November, 1789, a petition from a number of citizens was presented to the house of commons, asking for an investigation of the funds paid to the Blounts, but apparently it produced no results. The state's second effort at payment had largely failed, due to exchange difficulties, dishonesty, or both.

When Governor Johnston assumed office in 1788, he took active

[12] Blount Papers, North Carolina Historical Commission. Monsieur de Marbois was the French consul at Philadelphia. On the back of the letter there is this notation in the handwriting of John G. Blount: "This letter says £1200, but only £1050 was sent. He in his list [of] warrants issued says £1100 so the Comptroller charged it in his Books and so settled it. That proves that a Governor's lists of warrants or his letters should not be taken as evidence of debt."

[13] Journal of the House of Commons, 1788, p. 45.

steps to settle the debt, but could make little progress because he could not learn the exact status of the case. When he referred the matter to the legislature in November, 1788, the committee on public revenue studied the whole history of the debt, and reported that the balance due at that time was 4826 69/96 dollars. In a resolution which was approved by the general assembly, the committee recommended that the governor should "dispose of so much of the Public Tobacco for hard money or bills of Exchange on Philadelphia, New York, or Martinique as will discharge the said Balance".[14] As this report implied, the state was dealing in tobacco at that time, partly in order to be able to make payments outside the state. In the following year the governor wrote that the tobacco set aside for paying this debt, which had been held for "cash or such Bills as would be acceptable to the Government", had been sold to one Flint, of New York, "who had obtained a credit in favor of this State with the Treasurer of the United States".[15]

A committee of the 1789 legislature found the debt to be £2151 14*s*. 4*d*. at that time. Immediate payment was urged, since the debt was "fast accumulating by interest". Acting on this report, the legislature appointed one John Stewart as agent to sell certain public tobacco, the proceeds of such sales to be used to pay the debt. Relying on this, the governor notified the interested parties that the debt would soon be paid.

But the governor was too optimistic, and on April 11, 1790, the two representatives of the state in Congress wrote to him:

> We have been applied to and repeatedly by the Vice Consul General of France to inform him what measures our Legislature took to discharge the Martinique debt. He, in the course of conversation, remarked that counting on the repeated resolutions of North Carolina since the year 1784, he had taken on himself to inform the Marine Minister that payment would indubitably be made within the last year, and that in consequence he was left to provide for the fleet that arrived from the West Indies into our ports out of the monies arising from those promises and some others as ineffectual, amounting in the whole to a sum nearly equal to their exigencies . . . . the revolution in France had caused so great a distrust among the commercial characters here as to render a supply by the sale of bills too uncertain and expensive to be depended on . . . . he . . . insinuated that probably we meant promises only instead of payment, and that although the last General Assembly had taken upon them to correct former errors, yet he was apprehensive when the fleet arrived in the autumn season he should be again disappointed.[16]

[14] *Loc. cit.*

[15] *S. R.*, XXI, 564.

[16] *S. R.*, XXII, 794–795.

The governor informed the 1790 legislature that the debt would "shortly be extinguished forever", but he was wrong again. In 1793 the comptroller stated, in his report, that he had paid out certain funds to the firm of Stewart and Muir, merchants, for the payment of the debt. He continued:

> These gentlemen say, and probably it is so, that all the monies drawn by them have been faithfully applied. They state that the whole of the debt has now been paid off, except a few hundred dollars only, which they are ready to pay . . . but they wish to be informed whether they shall pay to those who now represent the French Republic or not.[17]

Following this item, no further transactions are recorded for a period of nine years.

The only record of the payments on this debt found among the financial papers of the state is a mutilated, undated, and unsigned manuscript among the Comptroller's Papers of the North Carolina Historical Commission. It gives the original amount of the debt as 5487 32/96 dollars, lists a number of payments, and records the amount of interest accruing between the different payments. In no case does it specify where, to whom, or in what form the payment was made. The payments are as follows (the figures after the decimal represent 96ths of a dollar):

April 27, 1786	121.26	dollars
July 26, 1786	305.90	"
May 4, 1787	233.45	"
August 26, 1790	1691.24	"
October 20, 1790	2812.48	"
March 15, 1791	1112.48	"

The balance due on the latter date was 1023.83 dollars, and the interest thereon to January 1, 1794, the last date recorded, was something over 143 dollars (the fraction is illegible). This would indicate that interest was calculated at the rate of five per cent. The last entry states that the balance due to the government of Martinique on January 1, 1794, was 1167 dollars.

The final payment on this debt was made in 1802. Treasurer John Haywood, in his report to the legislature of that year, stated:

> The Sum due as the balance of this debt, although long unpaid, had not increased inasmuch as it was for interest (*sic!*). The debt was therefore

[17] Journal of the House of Commons, 1793, p. 20.

finally extinguished by the payment of five hundred and ninety two pounds eighteen shillings and eight pence on the 26th. day of January last, to Mr. Pichon, the French Consul resident at Washington.[18]

At this time the state was still keeping its accounts in terms of its paper money, one pound of which, after 1800, was rated as the equivalent of two dollars. Calculating at this ratio, we find that the amount here paid was equal to approximately $1186, or about nineteen dollars more than the balance said to be due in 1794. This difference might easily be accounted for as a premium paid for northern funds. If so, this would indicate that the debt drew interest up to 1794, but not thereafter. The reason for this is not apparent, unless it was the British occupation of Martinique from 1793 to 1801.

Thus after approximately twenty years the debt was finally discharged. Although the amount involved was small, the various ramifications which developed during the long and troublesome period of payment afford an interesting and instructive study in finance. In particular the exchange or transfer problem bears in miniature some resemblance to the one which is troubling the nations of the world today. Through all the difficult period of payment North Carolina showed a commendable zeal for the prompt discharge of the obligation. Although the state certainly paid the debt twice and probably a good part of it three times, yet there is no evidence anywhere of a disposition to delay or to refuse payment. It is true that in the handling of the remittances and in the keeping of accounts there was gross carelessness, but this was due, in part at least, to the conditions of the time. We may say, then, that the state had to overcome, in addition to the difficulty of raising the necessary revenue, the obstacles of a poor transfer system, dishonest and dilatory agents, and careless officials. The success finally achieved reflects credit upon the state and upon the officials responsible for maintaining the integrity of its financial obligations.

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The Norwegian Element in the Northwest

Forty years ago Professor Frederick Jackson Turner advanced a theory of American development which has revolutionized the study and the writing of our national history. The terms of the Turner hypothesis are too well known to require a restatement. One need only

[18] Journal of the House of Commons, 1802, p. 14.

call to mind that his views were concerned with the progress of settlement from coast to coast and were applicable to the history of New England as well as to the newer story of Illinois.

Turner's outlook was national; but, as his studies progressed, he seemed to discover a peculiar significance in the movement from the Appalachian highlands into and across the Mississippi Valley, a movement which showed great energy about 1790. In the century following, men and women of colonial stock, largely though not exclusively of British ancestry, built a mighty empire in the Mississippi basin, an achievement so remarkable that one searches in vain for an adequate parallel.

The achievement was not theirs alone. The native element provided resourceful leadership, intelligent energy, and workable plans, but without efficient help from other sources they could never have built as they did. The entire white population in 1790 was something more than three million. To what extent these would have multiplied, without additions by immigration, cannot be determined. Estimates vary; but whatever figure is accepted, it seems clear that the native white American stock, the stock that traces its ancestry back to Revolutionary times, is now a decreasing minority.

Help came from over the sea. The peoples of Europe bestirred themselves and soon there was much activity in European ports. Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians came first, along with important contingents from Great Britain. Other nations came later. Though scarcely more than a trickle at first, the movement grew in volume till, about the turn of the century, it had swelled to a mighty torrent fed from a hundred sources and flowing forth from almost every part of the civilized world.

Such statistics as are available seem to indicate that at least 36,000,000 aliens have landed in our ports since 1790. Most of these were men and women still in the years of youth. Most of them established families and had descendants; some of them had many descendants. In its earlier stages this human flood found a convenient outlet in the upper states of the West where land was cheap and even free. As this area filled up, the newcomers turned their faces toward the cities. This was, of course, nothing new: from the very beginning a considerable number of immigrants had been attracted to the urban centers.

Professor Turner saw distinctly that the immigration movement was a highly significant phenomenon. As one who is compelled to make his observations from the outside, he was, however, scarcely in position

to fathom its possibilities. He dealt with immigration as a part of the general Westward Movement which indeed it was; but looking at the history of the great inland valley from a slightly different angle, one seems to find that there were two separate movements heading into the West, one from across the mountains and another from over the sea. While the aim and the direction were the same in both streams, they seem to have flowed in distinct channels. For a long time the second movement was of little apparent consequence: except in the economic field it scarcely affected the current of American life and growth. The native element was and continued to be in almost complete control of all the great forces that were shaping the national destiny.

Time came, however, when the energies of the older migration had begun to wane. The continent had been crossed; the West had been settled and organized. The work of the pioneer from the seaboard states had been pretty well completed by the close of the 1890's. Meanwhile, new energies had been brought into play. Strange names were appearing on the roster of achievement, names that were not British in any form. It is therefore not strange that many citizens of the older stock found the new situation disturbing and even menacing.

There are several important alien groups that may be used to illustrate the terms of the general problem of immigration, but the most convenient illustration is provided by that which came from Norway. Nearly all our foreign contingents are widely distributed throughout the nation and their activities are therefore lacking in effective unity. But the pioneers from the North have settled in large numbers within a limited area and thus form a fairly compact unit which consequently can be studied more effectively than any other immigrant group.

The first Norwegian settlement in the United States was formed in the autumn of 1825 when a group of about fifty men and women established homes at Kendall, New York, some thirty miles northwest of Rochester. A site on the great lake would seem to have its advantages; but the ground was difficult to clear, and the settlers soon began to ponder the advisability of seeking a new location.

So in 1833 Kleng Peerson, who had selected the site at Kendall, went forth again in search of the land of ease and plenty. Traveling on foot through Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois, he visited many promising locations and finally found what he sought in the Fox River Valley about sixty miles southwest of a little forlorn village called Chicago. So convincing was Peerson's report that the settlers at Kendall promptly began to make preparations for a trek into the West. In the

following spring six men, all heads of families, followed the restless scout to La Salle County, Illinois, where as soon as possible they purchased land and built homes. Others came later and for some years the bulk of such immigration as there was from the North was directed toward Illinois.

Heading northwestward to spy out the land, some of these newcomers found their way into the beautiful valley of the Rock River. Soon the stream of settlement began to flow northward toward the upper stretches of this valley in southern Wisconsin, where lakes and streams, prairies and woodland promised an abundant life. This was in 1838. Two years later a settlement was formed near Lake Koshkonong, about twenty miles southeast of Madison. Though there were many other favored places, this colony soon developed a great interest as the leading point of dispersion. Immigrants in considerable numbers would come to Koshkonong, remain there for a time with friends or kinsmen, and would then move on to newer fields.

Early in the forties the tide of Norwegian migration began a steady progress westward and northwestward toward the Great River. Late in the decade it reached the counties of northeastern Iowa. In the early fifties it touched various points in eastern and southern Minnesota. Norwegian settlers appeared in Dakota in 1859; but real settlement in that territory did not come till the close of another decade.

The Civil War served to discourage emigration in every land, Norway with the rest, though some venturesome souls risked the journey over the sea even in those perilous days. At the close of the war the activities in the steerage took on new life. Only 298 immigrants had arrived from Norway in 1860. In 1866 the number rose to 12,633, approximately three-fourths of one per cent of the entire population of the kingdom.

These new arrivals went into many parts of the country; but the largest number came intending to establish homes in the wheat lands of Minnesota. In the seventies James J. Hill began to apply his amazing energies to the problem of a transportation system for the Red River Valley. Next he initiated an active and widespread propaganda, especially among the newer Americans, calling their attention to this wonderful land "where the depth of the humus was equal to the height of a man". The Northmen responded with enthusiasm. In the twelve counties that border on the Red River at least one-third of the population is of Norwegian stock.

Thus there was formed, in the half century following Kleng Peer-

son's visit to the Fox River country, a geographical unit, which has sometimes been called "the New Norway". This area extends from Lake Michigan westward into the Dakotas and well on toward the Missouri River, or to the margin of the land with insufficient rainfall. A somewhat irregular line drawn westward from Chicago to Sioux City will approximately mark the southern boundary. The area thus delimited will include half a dozen counties in northeastern Illinois, a dozen counties in northern and central Iowa, nearly all of Wisconsin and Minnesota, and the eastern parts of the two Dakotas, approximately one-third in either case. Within these boundaries eighty per cent, and possibly more, of all the Norwegians who have come to the United States have found their homes. To a great extent their descendants still have their homes in this region. Their number is variously given, but a million and a quarter, or possibly a million and a half, seems to be a conservative estimate.

It is not to be understood that this element is in actual majority in any large part of this area. Winnebago County in northern Iowa has a population which is probably four-fifths Norwegian; but this condition must be regarded as quite exceptional. The important fact is that the Northwest has been settled by many racial elements and that among these the Norse contingent is one of the more numerous; in many localities it is the most numerous. Its actual strength is therefore greater than its numbers would seem to indicate.

Our naturalized citizens usually have much to say about a heritage which they have brought to the New World and which it is their duty to defend and maintain. When pressed for details as to what this heritage really is, they usually point to the achievements of the past. But the past cannot very well be transplanted and what is transplanted does not always thrive. The heritage that is worth while are those qualities of body, mind, and spirit which through millenniums of development in a stubborn environment have become part of the national self. The heritage of the alien are those powers and qualities and tendencies which determine what he is, what he is able to do, and what he is likely to do in the new surroundings.

The great novelist Arne Garborg, whose home was in the coast country of southwestern Norway, has described his neighbors in the following trenchant sentence:

> They are a strong, stubborn folk who dig their way through a life of brooding and care, putter with the soil and search the Scriptures, force a little corn from the earth and hopes from their dreams, put their faith in the penny and trust in God.

The picture is striking rather than attractive; but after all, such men were built for pioneering.

The Norwegian immigrant came with a strong attachment to the soil. He hungered for land; he felt the need of a home. A home, however, could not be a mere abiding place: home, as he saw it, was something to which one has the title of ownership. In his attitude toward society he was often stubbornly individualistic. It was his great pride that he came from a land of democratic freedom. In his quiet, somewhat unemotional way he was deeply religious. In the Lutheran faith he had found a religion that brought responses from his inner being; he was a strenuous defender of the traditional faith. In the homeland he had frequently acted in opposition to his superiors; but he usually believed in yielding obedience to law. Finally, like most aliens, he suffered from a troublesome suspicion of inferiority, to disguise which he spoke freely and sometimes boastfully of his fatherland and of its glorious past.

He discovered quite early in his sojourn in the West that he was being exploited by the native element. Too often the banker, the lawyer, the wheat buyer, and other "smart" business men coined good money from his ignorance of American ways. For his economic protection, therefore, he realized that he must settle among men of his own race; he felt that he was safer among his own countrymen, and in this he was usually correct.

There were other and more weighty reasons why the large alien settlements were inevitable. "It is hard to live among strangers", especially among strangers whose life and language one does not understand. Under such conditions there can be no active spiritual life. So there grew up several hundred communities where the whole intellectual civilization was in many respects quite foreign to normal American life.

In this connection one should note the significant fact that these settlements were flanked by hundreds of other alien communities inhabited by Swedes and Danes and Germans. In Minnesota the Swedes are as numerous as the Norwegians; in Wisconsin the Germans are by far the strongest alien element, the Norwegians holding second place. As for northern Illinois one may recall the remark of a famous mayor that Chicago was the sixth largest German city in the world. In the 1890's a young man advertising for employment in that city closed his advertisement with the enlightening sentence: "Can speak both languages."

It is scarcely necessary to observe that Germans and Scandinavians belong to kindred branches of the great Germanic stem and in large part profess the Lutheran faith. The influence of Protestant Germany has been powerful all through the North. The Lutheran Church gave to its adherents not only a religion but a philosophy of life. The men and women who came into the West from the Atlantic seaboard were also largely of Germanic blood; but their religious background was Calvinistic. The older Calvinist was a child of God in a very intimate sense, one whose life was constantly being shaped and directed by an overruling Providence. The Lutheran, too, is a man of intense religious convictions; but his ideas as to the demands of the Almighty are not exactly the same as those of his Reformed brother. Lutheran ethics seems to allow a greater freedom to the individual conscience than the Calvinistic system appears to grant. It is quite true that these differing views of life are no longer so clearly marked as they once were; but such trends of change as one can observe appear to be moving away from the Reformed point of view.

To-day the strongest single Church in the area under consideration is the Roman Catholic. But among the Protestants the Lutheran organizations have the largest following. In the four states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the two Dakotas (taken as a unit) more than two-thirds of the entire Protestant membership is enrolled in Lutheran churches.

Soon after settlement came organization, first of all parochial organization, for the Church was the chief unit in the system of defenses which were erected to stem the advance of an unfamiliar and possibly hostile culture. Church organization among the Norwegians in the West dates from 1843, when sixty-nine farmers in Muskego, Wisconsin, joined in a move to secure a pastor. To-day after ninety years, this group of sixty-nine has grown into a powerful body of churches with a membership of more than half a million.[1]

Next in point of time came the foreign language newspaper. The first Norwegian newspaper was a little sheet with a Free Soil program which began publication in 1847 in a log house in Muskego. Since then more than five hundred periodicals of various sorts have seen the light; but the rate of mortality has been high and most of them have ceased to be. It is quite evident that the foreign language press has done much to foster an alien culture on American soil; but it has also

[1] A letter from the secretariat of the Church (dated Jan. 15, 1934) gives the number as 491,957, children included. To this number should be added an associate membership of 77,328.

done much to familiarize the naturalized citizen with the institutions and the public life of the land.

The belief that the culture of the Northland would be able to take firm root in Western soil was held quite generally in the Norwegian settlements in the decade following the Civil War. It had strong adherents even as late as the 1890's, though many had by that time come to understand that the earlier views were no longer tenable. But the tide of immigration was still pouring into our Atlantic ports; the older settlements were growing in strength; new ones were being constantly formed. A strong sense of power had entered into the souls of those to whom the rank and file looked for leadership. This found expression in part in the founding of higher schools, some of which have attained collegiate rank. During the nineties fifteen such institutions were established. The laws and rules of these foundations show clearly that the immigrant mind was moving toward a differing point of view. The new institutions were to be American in every respect; but the language and the culture of the motherland were to have the seats of honor at the new tables and were to be made subjects of serious study and cultivation.

Norsedom is still a virile force in the Northwest though the program of the nineties like that of the seventies has proved a failure. New interests have come into the lives of the immigrant children, interests which threaten to smother those to which they were born. The greatest of all these disintegrating forces is intermarriage. In the seventies, if a man sought a wife outside his nationality, he was guilty of a form of disloyalty which could scarcely be forgiven. Marriage with other Scandinavians was, of course, always a proper proceeding; a German bride, too, might expect to be blessed, if she was of the right congregation. Further the leaders would not go. But the primal urge proved too powerful even for a hostile opinion. As many as forty per cent of Norwegian marriages are now contracted beyond the pale.

Then came the War. Superpatriots clamored for the removal of foreign symbols of every sort. Churches using foreign languages were closed by orders from the state capitol. Many militant citizens tried to divest themselves of all the inherited garments that their souls could spare. A body blow was delivered by the immigration act of 1921 which dried up the sources from which the settlements had renewed their strength.

Then came the depression. Even a dull imagination can see what the present economic misery must have done to colleges, academies, newspapers, and publishing houses. The walls that seemed so strong to the generation of the seventies and even to that of the nineties are

badly shattered. The old language has practically passed out of the Norwegian Sunday schools and is rapidly being displaced as the language of worship in the urban churches. In the Norwegian Lutheran Church two-thirds of the church services are now carried out in the English language.

On the positive side there are certain attractions in American life which to many have proved irresistible. As the young men and women became better acquainted with the system within which they moved, they found much which they wished to make their own. This might mean that they would have to desert the leadership of the elders. After a time Norwegian names began to appear in business, in academic life, and in many other fields. But the field into which the new urge led most directly was politics.

The Norwegian immigrant loyally accepted the political system of the new homeland. He applied early for naturalization; he took pride in his new citizenship. Before 1850 he felt drawn toward the Democratic party; but the great conflict over union and slavery brought him and his fellows into the Republican haven, where most of them remained for half a century and even longer.

The Norseman is by nature a politician. In the gray dawn of Northern history he appears as a sovereign freeman with a full share in the management of local concerns. Even in the long Danish period he did not entirely lose his political rights. In those dull days he often made life a misery to the priests and judges, bailiffs and tax collectors who came into his parish with credentials from the king's own Copenhagen. His descendants came to the West with a training which has not been allowed to grow stale.

In 1839 a Norwegian settlement was formed near Muskego Lake some twenty miles southwest of Milwaukee. The location proved to be unfortunate; soon there was much distress in the colony. The Whig leaders at the county seat a few years later organized the settlement into a township in order that the aliens might be forced to carry on their own relief work. Similar situations arose in many other places and the new citizens were called on to fill local offices even before they were really prepared to do so. It was not long before alien representatives appeared in the court houses and as the years passed an occasional Norseman would find his way into higher office; but one suspects that frequently the deciding factor in such cases was membership in the Grand Army of the Republic. H. B. Warner, who was elected secretary of state of Wisconsin in 1875, had credentials from Libby Prison.

The first great political clash between Norse and native leadership

came in 1882, when Knute Nelson was put forward as a candidate for Congress in western Minnesota. After a bitter fight the Republican convention divided and two candidates were nominated. The campaign was animated and stirred racial feelings on both sides. Nelson was elected. He died forty years later as a member of the United States Senate. In those same years another Norwegian, Adolph Bierman, was coming forward as a leader in the Democratic party. Bierman was not always elected but he had amazing success as a vote-getter.

Clan feeling has to a great extent passed away. Still, there are many localities where a foreign name continues to be a political asset. Of the county officials listed in the current *Minnesota Year Book* about one-third bear Scandinavian names. In about a dozen counties the number is more than half of the total; in one instance (Norman County) seventeen of the eighteen appear to be Scandinavians, all Norwegians but one.

Other nationalities can show a similar though less emphatic record. In Chisago County where the Swedes are in control, only four, possibly only two, native Americans appear to hold office in the court house (McLean and McGuire are counted among the Americans). The Swedes seem further to have appropriated the three members of the legislature from the Chisago district. The radio reports from Minnesota on election night sounded like a roll call in the steerage.

Since the Norwegian element in America scarcely amounts to more than one and one-half per cent of the total white population it can scarcely expect to have more than half a dozen members in the national Congress. In the Congress that expired last March the number was actually thirteen. In the sad occurrences of 1932 several of these lost their membership. Minnesota, however, elected five Norwegians to the present House of Representatives. Of the remaining four two seem to be Swedes.

Along with aggressiveness at the ballot box the Norwegian-Americans have in later years shown an emphatic independence in voting. This is particularly true in the newer settlements. Many Norsemen went into the Populist movement some forty years ago. They counted heavily in the La Follette following in Wisconsin and the neighboring states. They have come to be a powerful element in the Farmer-Labor movement in Minnesota. Elsewhere, too, they have shown serious symptoms of radical thought.

Grand Forks County, North Dakota, where nearly one-half of the voting population is Norwegian, offers an excellent illustration of independent or, if one prefers, erratic voting. The county began to vote

for President in 1892. Though it has always had a somewhat restless electorate, the Republicans managed to secure majorities for their candidates from Harrison to Taft. Trouble began in 1912. In that year Wilson carried the county, Roosevelt following close behind. Wilson won again in 1916. Since that year Grand Forks County has given majorities to Harding, La Follette, Hoover, and Roosevelt. This is a record that is not easily matched.

There should be no need of an extended argument to show that the presence in the Northwest of a numerous and aggressive element like the Norwegian group must have been a powerful influence in the development of that region. One may go further and say that similar results are sure to appear in any section that has received an important immigrant population. It is quite true that the immigrant is becoming an American; but this statement is not very helpful, since there seems to be no agreement as to what the term American may imply. The naturalized citizen has indeed accepted the language and the institutions of the land, though frequently without having mastered either. He has further accepted the more important elements of American culture. Still, there are notions, principles, implications, and national habits which he has often been very reluctant to accept. Furthermore, he has brought with him a culture of his own, certain elements of which he is very reluctant to discard. Thus there is going forward throughout the American North a clash of ideas and principles, a conflict of mental habits and modes of thought which is likely to result in significant changes in the deeper strata of American thought.

It seems reasonable to assume that when these many and diverse alien strands have been thoroughly woven into the web of our national life, the pattern is likely to suffer many changes. Perhaps one may even be allowed to raise the question whether this mingling of peoples will not also eventuate into a new physical type, or possibly more than one. The original American stock still flourishes in comparative purity in the South, where there has been only slight immigration except from the Northern states. In the South, too, the churches are mainly Protestant of British origin. There, too, one is likely to encounter what still remains valid of the Calvinistic view of life.

Wholly different is the situation in New England. There is still much Puritan stock in the land but it now forms a thin layer stretching across the continent from Salem to Salem, from Portland to Portland. Into the land of Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards have come the Irishman and the Italian bringing a hostile religion and a differing view

of life. And no one can predict the racial future of Manhattan with its many tributary cities where all races have gathered, including powerful elements from the island of Sicily and from the great European Jewries. In the Northwest the problem is relatively simple. All the chief ingredients of the population, British, German, and Scandinavian, are fundamentally Germanic. The fusion in this area will inevitably produce a Germanic type, though in some of its prominent characteristics this may differ somewhat from the older types that we think of as essentially Teutonic.

The historian cannot, of course, be concerned with the years that are yet to come, but in his own proper field his duty lies clear before him: these alien contingents in our population must all be made the subject of serious and intensive study. That such a program presents great difficulties, especially in the matter of linguistic preparation, will be evident without further discussion. The historical profession has long been aware of the fact that research in certain fields and subjects of Old World history may demand special and even extensive preparation. With the coming of so much of the Old World to our own shores the same condition has appeared in our own historical work.

It is only recently that it has become possible to carry on satisfactory research in the history of the naturalized groups. The chief difficulty in the past was the great poverty of available materials. This condition is now being rapidly remedied. The last two generations have been gathering into college libraries, the archives of historical societies, and other depositories important documentary collections in languages other than English. In this connection mention may be made of the activities of the Norwegian-American Historical Association which for some years has sponsored a search for pertinent historical materials on both sides of the sea.

One of the most interesting exhibits in the Illinois library is a collection of foreign language newspapers published chiefly in the great industrial centers of the Northeast and the Middle West. No doubt there are similar collections in other libraries, though there is probably none more complete for recent years than the one on the Illinois campus. The work of collecting materials of this sort in a large way was begun by Mr. P. L. Windsor, the librarian, some twenty years ago and has been continued to date. The titles at present number 281; and, though many have not been able to survive the "depression", the number of papers received each week is still quite large. Almost every important Euro-

pean language and some Oriental idioms are represented on the shelves: Albanian, Arabic, Armenian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Ukranian, Yiddish, and many more, thirty-one in all at the last count. Each of these files contains materials for a distinct chapter of our national history; and these chapters must all be written, if the complete story of American achievement is to be told.

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DOCUMENTS

John C. Calhoun and the Presidential Campaign of 1824
Some Unpublished Calhoun Letters

THE presidential campaign of 1824 was a campaign of personalities rather than of issues. It took place in the closing months of the reign of the Virginia dynasty which had governed the country, with the exception of a brief interlude of four years, since the first inauguration of Washington in 1789.

The principal rivals for the presidential nomination were John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State in President Monroe's Cabinet, William H. Crawford, the Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, who disliked Crawford and distrusted Clay. If he could not himself secure the nomination, Calhoun preferred Adams. De Witt Clinton of New York also hoped to secure the nomination, but as a result of strong opposition and the lack of any substantial, widespread support he withdrew early in the contest, most of his supporters going for Clay or Jackson, the latter not appearing as a serious contender until late in the fall of 1823. William Lowndes of South Carolina had received what amounted to a vote of confidence from the South Carolina legislature in December, 1821, but his death a year later threw any support he might have had to Calhoun, who had persuaded himself that "the contest will be between Adams, Crawford and myself".[1]

The letters which follow, with the exception of two from the Library of Congress, were written by Calhoun to General Joseph G. Swift of New York City. They are of interest not only because of the picture they give of the rise and fall of Calhoun's presidential aspirations, but also because of the picture they give of the struggle in New York State for a more popular registration of the wishes of the electorate, with the resulting temporary overthrow of the Albany Regency. Force of circumstances and the political line-up in this pivotal state seemed to make it advisable for Calhoun to arrange local alliances that in the end were disastrous. In order to promote his candidacy Calhoun posed as the champion of the popular will acting in opposition to Van Buren and

[1] J. Franklin Jameson, *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1899, vol. II, pp. 202, 206.

Marcy who were pressing the claims of Samuel Young, the machine candidate for governor of New York, and of Crawford, their choice for the presidential nomination.

As the campaign progressed Calhoun came to believe that only an anti-Van Buren coalition could defeat Crawford in New York. This meant an alliance with De Witt Clinton and his friends who by this time (October, 1823) had become strong Jackson supporters. As proved by the sequel, the coalition did Calhoun no good, but only paved the way for Jackson's eventual election to the presidency and the return to power of Van Buren and the Albany Regency. Calhoun had allowed himself to be carried away by his optimism and apparent refusal to face facts. The campaign marks a distinct cleavage in Calhoun's political career. On the one side was the young, ardent nationalist; on the other, that unique, enigmatic personality whose political theories and arguments furnished the authority and the background for secession and civil war.

Joseph Gardner Swift (1783–1865) was the first graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1802. In 1818, after an eventful career, he held the position of chief of engineers in the United States Army; Calhoun was Secretary of War. In that year Swift felt himself and American army officers generally unjustly treated because Congress insisted upon placing over him a distinguished French (Bonapartist) military engineer, Simon Bernard. He resigned from the army and was appointed to the civil post of surveyor of the port of New York. Swift and Calhoun had come to know each other well during the former's service in the army. This acquaintance had ripened into a close personal friendship which later was extended into politics.[2]

Swift's letters to Calhoun have not been found. On his part, Swift preserved a portion, at least, of Calhoun's letters as well as others from Calhoun supporters throughout the country.[3] After Swift's death many of his papers, including the correspondence with Calhoun, were acquired

[2] For information regarding General Swift, see *Memoirs of Gen. Joseph Gardner Swift*, Harrison Ellery, ed., and George W. Cullum, *Biographical Sketch of Brigadier-General Joseph G. Swift* (pamphlet).

[3] All letters from Calhoun of this period in the Swift Papers at West Point are printed herewith. In addition, there are over fifty letters to Swift from Calhoun supporters in Virginia, North Carolina, Massachusetts, Ohio, Maryland, Georgia, etc. Swift, apparently, usually forwarded these letters or pertinent abstracts of them to Calhoun to read and return. In some cases Calhoun sent letters received by him to Swift for his guidance in carrying on his correspondence. For example, he sent Swift a letter of October 20, 1823, from Judge John B. Gibson of Chambersburg, Pa., to his brother Colonel George Gibson in Washington, on which he wrote: "The enclosed is from Judge Gibson of Penna. . . . a man of great influence and who has a perfect knowledge of the State".

by the library of the United States Military Academy at West Point where they now are. So far as known, none of Calhoun's biographers has ever made any use of these letters to Swift. With the exception of letter XXVIII, all are printed without change or abridgment. In these letters Calhoun appears as an ardent nationalist; his narrow sectional attitude was a later development.

Great Neck, New York. THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

I

Washington
24th April 1823

My dear sir,

I have received several very friendly letters from Mr Mower[4] of your City, who refers me to you in relation to his character. The views which he takes of the State of political parties in New York appear to me to be very correct; and the information which he gives is very interesting; and tho' a stranger, I feel myself under great obligation to him for his friendship. I would be happy to continue to hear from him and would acknowledge the receipt of his letters, but situated as I am with my time fully engrossed with my official duties, I am compelled to restrict the circle of my correspondence. I must, however, ask the favour of you to tender my acknowledgements for the notions which he has expressed in my favour.

with sincere regards

J. C. CALHOUN

Gn[l] J G Swift

II

Washington
29th April 1823

Most Confidential

My dear sir,

I am always happy to hear from one who I have ever found so sincerely a friend as yourself. It is in New York that the battle must be fought, which will determine the standing of our prominent men and our future course of policy. On the sound side there is force enough, but how and by whom can it be directed? To determine this, let us for a moment advert to the grounds to be occupied. No party ought to rise in this country but what is identified with the old democratick Republican party, with the late war, and the measures of policy which grew out of it, or in other words the present administration. With all of them I have ever, and as I believe them to be founded in truth, wanted ever to be identified. Our standard then must be erected by those, whose Union with the Republican party cannot be questioned, and we must rally as far as practicable the supporters of the late war and advocates of an enlightened system of national policy. Now of the sound materials

[4] Mower, apparently of New York City, was seeking a Federal appointment in the Post Office Department. He was appointed early in September, 1823, as is evidenced in a letter from Haines to Swift of September [?], 1823, and from McLean to Swift of November 14, 1823, both in the Swift Papers.

connected with their general positions, there is an abundance in your great state. Of this even the proceedings at Albany [5] furnish ample proof. But still it remains to determine, who are to move, and how is a concert to be produced. I am told that the Patriot [6] is established by men who are recognized to be sound Republicans, and of great influence in the City. I have read the prospectus. It is excellent in manner and matter, and should it be conducted in a manner corresponding, the standard will be erected. It will be at once republican and anti Radical, and let all who accord in these cardinal points, move in concert, and extend the movement over the whole state. I need not develope the consequences to one so capable of realizing them as yourself.

I cannot doubt but the President is fully acquainted with the real character of the present juncture, and that, as a virtuous and upright magistrate, he feels solicitous to adopt those measures, which are at once calculated to advance the publick interest and maintain his just reputation, and that these views will have their just weight in selecting for permanent offices. In filling the place of Judge Livingston [7] he is, I doubt not, aware of its importance, and for that reason he will not act hastily. The selection will be confined, I should certainly think, to the circuit and a regard be had to abilities, integrity and political consequence in the enlarged view. In making the selection Judge Spencer [8] doubtless must come prominently to view. His abilities cannot be questioned, his integrity is fair, he has been long identified with the Republican party, and was one of the main props of the war [of 1812]. I should suppose that there is no doubt that he is anti-Radical. But still I should suppose an enquiry would remain. Would he be supported by the sound portion of the Republican party, who are opposed to such intriguers as Van Buren, Matthew L. Davis, etc.? [9] On this point you have ample opportunity of judging. Without such support would not the most mis-

[5] This reference, apparently, is to the action of the New York legislative caucus at Albany favoring, in Crawford's interest, nomination by congressional caucus. This action, later, proved to be very unpopular. C. H. Rammelkamp, The Campaign of 1824 in New York, A. H. A., *An. Rep.*, 1904, pp. 178–180.

[6] *The Patriot* was a newspaper published in New York City. The first number appeared on May 28, 1823. Publication finally ceased with the issue of December 31, 1824. The paper was started in Calhoun's interest and with his approval. General Swift, assisted by General Winfield Scott, Samuel L. Gouverneur, President Monroe's son-in-law and private secretary, Henry Wheaton, and others provided the financial support. Calhoun, also, probably contributed. Calhoun, Swift, and others aided actively in the editorial direction of the paper. Colonel Charles K. Gardner, a former United States Army officer and government employee, who, at the time, was practicing law in New York City, was the editor. His assistant was Selleck Osborne, until recently editor and publisher of the *Delaware Watchman* of Wilmington, Delaware. Thomas Robson Hay, John C. Calhoun and the Presidential Election of 1824, *North Carolina Historical Review*, Jan., 1935.

[7] Brockholst Livingston, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, who died on March 19, 1823.

[8] Ambrose Spencer (1765–1848), lawyer and New York politician; justice and chief justice, New York supreme court, 1804–1823.

[9] Matthew L. Davis (1766–1850), political pamphleteer and supporter and biographer of Aaron Burr. Davis was associated with Henry Eckford in the management of the *National Advocate* and was, for many years, active in New York politics.

chievous consequences result? Would not the State be more deeply disturbed, and thrown with greater certainty into the hands of those who are endeavoring to convert its entire influence into the means of their own personal advancement?

These reflections are wholly from myself, and are intended only for your own eyes.

The proceedings at Albany I consider under all circumstances of the case, a victory. It does Mr. C-d [Crawford] no good. As far as it expresses any sentiment it is much more favorable to my course than his. He has had his turn. He has done his best and his cause must soon begin to decline in New York as it is *every where else*. He cannot take a vote in the West and unless he takes New York not one in the Middle, or New England States.

I am very much obliged to you and Mr. Haines [10] for the perusal of the letters which you included and which I herewith return. They are both powerful minds, and though different must have much weight in the State.

With sincere regard

J. C. CALHOUN

Gn[l] J G Swift

III

Washington
10th May 1823

Confidential

My dear sir,

I have read your several communications with much pleasure, and instruction. New York and Penna. combined form the true basis of the general administration, and there are few things which I have more desired, than to see the former assume her just weight in the Union. The period, I hope, is now not far distant, when that will be the fact. I see distinctly the commencement of a new order of things with you. The younger class of politicians must regenerate the State. It is full time that the intriguers should go down forever; and those who know and expect the just interest of the State and the Union gain the permanent ascendancy. In the meantime, you cannot do better, than to act with the sound and honest Democracy of Penna. Such a junction would present a truly substantial foundation, on which to rear a system of policy, national, durable and prosperous. Fortunately for the Union those States comprehend within them all of the great interests of the Nation, commerce, and Navigation, agriculture and manufacture, and are consequently deeply interested in all of the measures necessary to protect or enlarge them. If they act wisely for ***themselves,*** they must act wisely for the *Union*. Virginia, tho' sound in principle, and interested from her position in a liberal policy, will not sustain the system, which the State of the world, and our present growth require.

To effect the desirable change in your State, to raise the great state of New York *above faction,* I look to the City. The Patriot gives an organ, through which, I trust, the intelligent and virtuous will speak to the State and Nation, and will proclaim your true policy. To this great cause anything minor must be subservient. Concert is indispensable. Yourself, Ed-

[10] Charles G. Haines (1792–1825), private secretary to De Witt Clinton in 1823; a follower and supporter of Calhoun, prominent in the business and political life of New York.

wards, Wheaton, Haines, etc.[11] must understand and act with each other and extend your circle till all that is sound and virtuous is comprehended. Let all be assured, that victory is the only essential point, which will give to all, who lead, the prominence and advantages which they can derive and to the State her just influence in the council of the Nation. For myself, political life has no charms, but as the means to advance the great destinies of our country, and those to advance whom, is to advance the honor and happiness of the country. My friends, I trust, will ever act in the same spirit. So acting we cannot be defeated. With a noble and virtuous cause, Union, Zeal, and energy, become virtues. *Republican principles* and *enlightened national policy,* anti-Radical and anti-Federal, such are the elements of our own cause; which if properly supported in your State will lift to the Council where they ought to be, the honor, the talents and the virtue of the nation.

I consider the question as nearly settled with Mr. C-d. A gentleman of great intelligence and observation has just returned from a tour from this place to Mobile going West about and returning through the Southern States, and he gives it as his opinion, that Mr. C-d is down through the whole extent of his tour with the exception of but a few points. It is confidently believed that he will fail by a large majority in North Carolina and that Virginia will go against him. One of his friends in that State, who till lately, has had great confidence, writes to an acquaintance in this City, that it cannot be disguised any longer that the cause of his friend is deeply in the wane in that State. In the entire West he cannot take one vote and even should Mr. Clay join with him he can add but little strength. He is not simply not popular, but positively unpopular, so much so, as to render a caucus nomination, even, if he should succeed in obtaining one, of which there is no chance, null.

Of the Judgeship[12] I can say nothing for the present. So far as I may have weight it shall be directed to sustain the character of the bench, and the sound and virtuous portion of the Republican party of your State, whose ascendancy I deem so essential to this Union.

How could Judge Van Ness[13] expect to be supported in the quarter which he expected here? He ought first to get the support of him who is deemed by the Radicals so essential to their Cause in New York. On that side no honor, or promotion in your State is obtainable but through him. This I should suppose the least experienced must see.

With sincere regard

J. C. Calhoun

Gn[l] J G Swift

[11] Ogden Edwards (1781–1862), judge, New York supreme court and brother of Senator Henry W. Edwards of Connecticut. Henry Wheaton (1785–1848), served in the War of 1812; editor, *National Advocate,* 1812–1814; reporter of the supreme court of New York, 1816–1827; member New York State constitutional convention, 1821; in later life a distinguished diplomat and writer on international law.

[12] The reference, evidently, is to the vacant position on the United States Supreme Court caused by the death of Judge Livingston and previously alluded to in Calhoun's letter [II *ante*] of April 29, 1823. John C. Fitzpatrick, The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, A. H. A., *An. Rep.,* 1918, vol. II, p. 140.

[13] William Peter Van Ness (1778–1826), United States judge, Southern district of New York, 1812–1826; in early life, an ardent supporter of Aaron Burr.

IV

[n. d. — Summer, 1823?]

Private

Dear Sir,

I am compelled to be very cautious in my correspondence, and could not answer Mr. Mower's letters, even on the most favorable statement as to his character. Still as he has evinced good feelings and as he and his connections are said to be respectable it is perhaps prudent to take some notice of him, which will explain what I have written to you. I wish you to exercise your own sound discretion, after proper inquiry, as to his character, whether to make *any communication* to him, as from me and the *manner* of doing it.

My wine has started finally. I doubt whether it has of its age a match in the country. It promised to have a full crop.

My prospect, it is thought by my friends, daily brightens.

With sincere regard

J. C. CALHOUN

Gn[l] J G Swift

V

Washington
5th Augst 1823

[No salutation]

I learn through Wheaton, your return to the City and also that he is about [to] set out for Rhode Island, which is the immediate cause of my writing you at this time. Wheaton informs me that Major Smith [14] is somewhat apprehensive that I have unfavorable impressions as to his consistency. There is not the slighest foundation for such apprehensions, and I must beg of you, without seeming to know that such is his apprehension, to remove his fears, and to assure him of my esteem. When Wheaton returns you will be so good as to inform him, that the Major's apprehension is wholly unfounded.

The prospect improves daily. My popularity in Georgia is becoming daily more manifest. You have doubtless seen the account of the celebration of the 4th of July at Lexington, Georgia, at Mr. Crawford's door and by his neighbors, as published in the Republican. It speaks in a tone not to be mistaken. It ought to be published in The Patriot, with suitable observations.

I deem it important that The Patriot should be exchanged with the Ohio and North Carolina papers, and that it should be sent to some of the leading men in both of those States. At this moment no States in the Union are more important, and it is of the utmost importance that they be attended to. In writing to North Carolina and the South generally no topic can be pressed with more effect than that C-d stands no chance to the North and that I am the only man from the Southern States, that the North can be induced to support. You may assign as the reason for this preference my education to the North and the liberal and national character of my political views. Let your correspondence with the two States be extensive and active. Do not fail to write to your relative [M. R. Lewis?] at Washington, N. Carolina. I consider that as the most doubtful portion of the State.

I received your letter from Baltimore which I read with pleasure. I learn that Adams is on the decline there and that C-d's prospects are desperate.

With sincere regard

J. C. CALHOUN

Gn[l] J G Swift

[14] Probably Major H. Smith, a member of the New York assembly from Monroe County.

VI

Washington
24th Augt 1823

My dear sir,

I was not ignorant that many of the Virginians attributed those opinions to me, which your correspondent says constitute in that State, the principle objection to me. Great injustice is done me in Virginia, not intentionally I believe, but by an inaccountable misconception of my political principles. I think, I can confidently say, that there is not on record a single expression of mine in relation to the construction of the constitution, which would offend the most rigid defenders of state rights. For the truth of this assertion, I boldly challenge a reference to my speeches and reports. The two favorite candidates of those opposed to me in Virginia, on constitutional grounds, are Mr. Clay and Mr. Crawford, yet both of them have again and again expressed sentiments in relation to the constitution of the most heretical character, while I have never uttered an offensive sentence. The truth is, that so far from being the friend of consolidation, I consider the preservation of the rights of the State, as secured by the constitution, essential to liberty. I would not weaken the smallest. The division of power between the local and federal governments, as between the States and the nation, is the most novel and beautiful feature in our whole system; and such has been my habitual conception, and I challenge an examination of my whole political life to find a single instance to the contrary. I have not been guarded in expression only, but have been so in action. I have done nothing, in which I have not been supported by the examples of the political fathers of the Republican church. My acts are all covered by the acts of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. There is not one that can be attributed to me, but what an example may be found in one and all of these illustrious men. It is true, that I do not entertain on all points the opinions of my excellent friend Col. Taylor,[15] for whom I have the highest esteem, but it is equally true, that not one of the candidates nor one of our Presidents, if we are to judge of their opinions by their actions, fully accord with him any more than myself. Why then should that be objected to me, which may be equally to all others! Is it fair? I think I have a just claim on some friend in Virginia to do me justice on this point. All I ask is to stand or fall by my acts. If they do not sustain me I ask not to be sustained; but I cannot but feel, that injustice is done, when I am opposed, and others forgiven for the same acts.[16]

I was much pleased with Col. Haines. He is all we can desire; and returns

[15] John Taylor (1775–1824), United States senator from Virginia, 1822–1824.

[16] In this letter we see Calhoun engaged in the troublesome, but often necessary, political task of carrying water on both shoulders. He has to be state rights enough for the South and, at the same time, nationalist enough for the North. Evidently there are difficulties. In spite of the criticism of Swift's Virginian correspondent, as alluded to in this letter, Calhoun was jubilant over his prospects. He had written his cousin, John Ewing Calhoun, on April 14, 1823: "the Radicals are much broken; and I think their Chief [Crawford] is also much depressed. It is hard to say who will be the successful candidate. Each one has his advantages and drawbacks. My friends are Zealous and active, and think that, as there is no other objection to me but age, that my chance will finally be the best." Jameson, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 206. Calhoun's candidacy in Virginia was especially objectionable to the state rights politicians. Letter to the Richmond *Enquirer*, quoted in Charles Henry Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, p. 128; Hay, *op. cit.*

back in full possession of all the [word illegible]. Our cause is so good that I feel confident that energy and activity will lead to victory. I consider Jackson's strength as ours. We are personally friends and his intimate friends are my intimate friends. All he gains will be gained to us. Write to Gadsden,[17] as to the necessity of Union and harmony, and so as to guard against the possibility of Jackson's strength passing to Adams. It cannot go to Clay, or Crawford. Mr. Clinton can do much with Gen. Jackson, than whom no one is more under the influence of his friends.

The indication from N. Carolina is daily improving. The same may be said of the West, and if you can put the pen of some of your Virginia friends in motion in the Enquirer in my favor, much may be done in that State.[18] But the decisive step there would be to put the Times into the hand of some able editor. The late editor and proprietor have quarreled and I fear unless it should pass into the hands of others it will fail. It could be made a most profitable and useful establishment.[19]

I was struck with the fineness of the cotton thread. It far exceeds anything that I had supposed and indicates a perfection on the part of our machinery that is very gratifying. I am delighted with the growth of our arts and manufactures and hope to see them rival those of Great Britain.

Sincerely

J. C. Calhoun

Gn[l] J G Swift

VII

Washington
8th Sept 1823

My dear sir,

I regret that there is any excitement at the Point in relation to the appointments of McComb and Kingsbury. It is certain, that they cannot be promoted to Brevets and that it was done by mere inadvertence, which was not detected in time to arrest the appointment of the latter. That of the former has been withheld. The truth is that the Staff has committed an error as to Kingsbury, in withholding his diploma. It has been done on the alleged ground, that his conduct has been bad,,but conduct has a certain value on the scale of merit, and all the Staff can do is to designate the amount in each case. To go beyond is to punish, which does not belong to them. Unless he fell back exceedingly, it would seem from the January examination, that his general standing was considerably above several who have received diplomas, and it would seem, that the object has been, as I have stated, to punish him for bad conduct when it has been sufficiently good to carry him through the usual period and course. I am exceedingly anxious to support the Staff; but it is no

[17] James Gadsden (1788–1858), soldier and politician; appointed adjutant general, by Calhoun, in 1821, but not confirmed by the Senate; in 1853, negotiated the Gadsden Purchase while serving as minister to Mexico.

[18] General Winfield Scott, probably urged on by Swift and Gouverneur, had already "put pen to paper". In April and May, 1823, he published several long contributions in the Richmond *Enquirer* supporting Calhoun by attacking Crawford. Scott wrote under the signatures of "Pendleton" and "Whythe". *Cf.* also Hay, *op. cit.*

[19] The reference is to the *Virginia Times* published from February 14 to August 25, 1823. An attempt was made to resume publication, providing an adequate support could be obtained. There is no evidence that the promoters of the undertaking were successful. *Cf.* advertisement, captioned "The Virginia Times" in Richmond *Enquirer,* Sept. 12, 1823.

less important that the cadet be impressed with a sense of rigid justice. Discipline cannot otherwise be supported.[20]

If Early[21] expects to conciliate Georgia and Carolina he will fail unless the former comes with the latter. I do believe he is my personal friend. Mr. Vandeburgh is no correspondent of mine. I gave him a letter at his request to a friend in Philadelphia, which I suppose, is the foundation of his boast.

North Carolina I think will be right. You can do much there and now is the time. Virginia must be drawn and not persuaded into our cause. She has done me great injustice, which she will one day see. How comes on your correspondence? It is very important, and you ought to make it a business of association. Edwards[22] ought to attend to Connecticut. It is important that Boardman's place in the Senate be well filled.[23] Cannot something be done to bring out the men up at Hartford? The Virginia Times ought to be resuscitated. A good paper would turn the State by the forces of truth. Irving[24] is doing well. Events are making much as I expected. What is Seaton about and what does he say?[25] I think well of him, and regret that he is going the course which he pursues. It will certainly be fatal to him. I told him as much long since. The Radicals never can succeed.

With sincere regard
I am &c &c
J. C. CALHOUN

Gn[l] J G Swift

(P S) Strictly Confidential

I read a letter from Swartwout.[26] I esteem him for many good qualities but am inclined to think I ought not to answer. What say you? If you think with me you can say to him what you may deem most advisable, or be silent if that is best.

J. C. C.

[20] The reference in the first part of this letter is to the overruling by the War Department of some recommendations of the academic board of the United States Military Academy. Jasper McComb, admitted as a cadet in 1819, but not graduated. Julius J. B. Kingsbury, graduated U. S. M. A. in 1823. He was commissioned in spite of the adverse recommendations of the academic board. In 1853, after he had attained the rank of major of infantry, he was dismissed from the service for absence from duty without authority.

[21] Eleazer Early, brother of Peter Early, governor of Georgia in 1813, who died in 1817. Eleazer Early was active in Georgia politics and was anti-Crawford.

[22] Henry W. Edwards (1779–1847), appointed United States senator from Connecticut in 1823 in place of Elijah Boardman. Edwards served in the Senate until 1827. In 1833 he was elected governor of Connecticut.

[23] Elijah Boardman (1760–1823), United States senator from Connecticut, died Oct. 8, 1823.

[24] John T. Irving (1778–1838), brother of Washington Irving, judge, court of common pleas, New York City, 1821–1838.

[25] William W. Seaton (1785–1866), with Joseph Gales, his brother-in-law, one of the editors and owners of the Washington *National Intelligencer*.

[26] This reference is not clear as there were a number of Swartwouts active in New York politics during this period. It probably relates to Samuel Swartwout. He was appointed collector of the port of New York by President Jackson in 1829, but was subsequently removed from office for defalcations. Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 262 ff.; John Spencer Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, pp. 452–454.

VIII

Washington
21st Sept 1823

My dear sir,

It is time to make an important move. Judge Thompson ought to be brought forward, formally in the Patriot. The precise mode can be determined by our friends in the city [of New York]. You need not wait the assent of my friends elsewhere, particularly in Penna. That I assume on myself. The move will go far to secure victory if followed up.[27]

You know Watts. He is very imprudent and is the child of circumstances, at one moment in the Clouds, and in the next below the horizon. I spoke to McDuffie[28] about it. He says that he cannot imagine from what he derived his impression, except an opinion which he expressed in his presence, that A[dams] was the strongest in New York at that time.

He neither feels, nor has expressed, the slightest discouragement from all that he saw or heard. In fact we cannot be doing better. We are already rising, and what can stop us? Once started fairly we must reach the highest point. The more thorough the investigation, the better. I have never feared to follow the dictates of Truth and Justice, and now is the time that we will derive the benefit which naturally follows an inflexible course.

Sincerely

J C Calhoun

Gn[l] J G Swift

IX

Washington
27th Sept 1823

My dear sir,

I understand that you will be at the Major's wedding at Baltimore.[29] I will be there with Mrs. Calhoun, and will be very happy to meet you. In expectation of meeting you, I will decline stating the observations which the facts that you state in your last letter naturally suggest. They indicate that the Radical ranks are shattered. We know of no cue, but acting on principles we cannot deflect from our course to conciliate. Beyond all doubt, our principles and policy are right. On them the liberty and prosperity of this country may permanently rest. If those once opposite to us agree in this great point, the way is clear. They cannot refuse our lead, we who have ever so thought and acted we cannot follow them. They have never evinced either the foresight, or the firmness to entitle them to the place of guide. But ours is not the system of bigotry. We shut the door against none; and much less

[27] The "move" suggested refers to a scheme to bring forward Calhoun's cabinet colleague, Smith Thompson, Secretary of the Navy, of New York, as a candidate for Vice President, running on the same ticket with Calhoun. Nothing came of the proposal as shortly afterwards Thompson was appointed to the vacancy on the Supreme Court created by the death of Judge Brockholst Livingston, also from New York. Thompson retired completely from politics.

[28] George McDuffie (1790–1851), representative from South Carolina, 1821–1834; governor, 1834–1836; United States senator, 1842–1851; a devoted friend of Calhoun's.

[29] The reference is to the wedding of Christopher Vandeventer, U. S. M. A., 1809, who resigned from the army in 1816. He was chief clerk of the War Department, 1817–1827, and was always a devoted friend and admirer of Calhoun.

will proscribe any one. That our cause must prevail is certain; and it is equally certain that we will prevail with it. It can be supported by none other.

You must be in Baltimore. I wish much to see you. It is important and that on many accounts.

Sincerely

J C Calhoun

Gn[l] J G Swift

[P S] I forgot in my last letter to say to Wheaton, that my correspondence in your State is confined to the city [of New York], with the exception of Sterling. He may I doubt not write to him, Hubbard and Conkling of the last Congress with perfect confidence.[30] I will be in B[altimore] one week.

X

Washington
10[th] Oct 1823

Confidential

My dear sir,

I am so much occupied in correspondence of the accumulation of business in my absence, that I have barely time to answer the single point in your letter received by yesterday's mail.

If anything can be done it shall; but I fear, that there may be some delay. The President has taken the subject wholly into his own hands. This became necessary in consequence of the ground on which D[31] put the case as it regarded Judge Thompson. I do not suppose the least alteration will be made in the decision, and I hope, that a speedy review of the case will be had, and that it will be finally disposed of. As to my supposed agency in the case, it is without the slightest foundation. Had it depended on my opinion, I would not have looked at the case for reconsideration until he had complied with the order of the Secretary.

You have secured, I see, the choice of the people.[32] This is a great victory, and will be the death of the Radical party in your State.

[30] Micah Sterling (1784–1844), representative from New York, 1821–1823; Thomas Hill Hubbard (1781–1857), representative from New York, 1817–1819 and 1821–1823; Alfred Conkling (1789–1874), father of Roscoe Conkling, representative from New York, 1821–1823.

[31] Probably Matthew L. Davis, n. 9 *ante*.

[32] In October, 1823, the Republican general committee of New York voted favorably on a proposal for the choice of the presidential electors by the people. The question was to be introduced before the next session of the state legislature which would meet the following January. Rammelkamp, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–186. About this time, on October 5, 1823, Virgil Maxcy wrote Swift a long letter commenting on the favorable turn events seemed to be taking. He thought "The good cause seems to be gaining ground everywhere in Ohio, in Alabama, in North Carolina and in New England", particularly emphasizing the favorable situation in the last two named localities. Maxcy quoted at length from letters received from William Gaston in North Carolina and Lemuel Williams of New Bedford, Massachusetts. He went on to suggest "an exchange" of *The Patriot* with the *Maryland Republican* as being "very desireable". He also suggested that Swift's forthcoming pamphlet *Principles, not Men* (?) be forwarded to him "for distribution" in Maryland. Maxcy concluded with the request that Swift write "as strong a letter as you can write with truth in relation to the prospect in New York".

The general indication is good. I send you a copy of a letter just received from Georgia from a man of distinction and intelligence [possibly Wilson Lumpkin], which will show you the state of the public mind there.

Sincerely
J C Calhoun

Gn[l] J G Swift

XI

Confidential

Wash
14[the] Oct 1823

My dear sir,

I received your letter yesterday. The measure to which you referred in a former and alluded to in your last, had been taken on Saturday last. No other course could be pursued; and I have no doubt good will follow. We cannot fear excitement.

Should the decision of the 81 [33] be against you, resistance, it appears to me, will be necessary. The object of the whole proceedings is to concentrate public opinion, and if it fails to do that, by attempting to control instead of following public opinion, resistance becomes a *Republican duty*. I have long thought it would be impossible for us to act with the Radicals.[34] We adhere to sound democratical principles, that is that every [?] thing should be by and for the people; but you may be assured that Radicalism is as much against the people, as Federalism itself. The latter supported the few against the many; the few well born and wealthy against the whole body of the people; the former on the contrary supports the few intriguers and managers against the people. The Radicals make a partnership against the people and for themselves; and expect to direct the latter to their purpose by what is called the machinery of party. How could we act with them? How could we act with acknowledged Federalists? We need not fear in setting up a ticket of our own. We are on the side of the people and administration, and must bear the badge, as we really are, of Republicans. The crisis is now approaching, when it is apparent, that none but a uniform, and primitive Republican can be supported as President on our side. Ver Plank [35] must feel, that his selection was wrong; and if you come to a struggle, he ought quietly to fall in the rear. We and we only can beat the Radicals, and they know it. If there is delay in the acting of the 81, you ought silently to prepare to act in a moment. Let real sound Republicans caucus apart from the Radicals. The crisis is great, and the eye of the nation is on you.

Sincerely
J C Calhoun

Gn[l] J G Swift

[33] The reference to "81" is not clearly established. It probably relates to the Republican (*i.e.*, anti-federalist) members of the New York legislature.

[34] The Radicals referred to were the supporters of William H. Crawford's candidacy for the presidency. In New York they were led by the so-called "Albany Regency" made up of Van Buren, Croswell, editor of the Albany *Argus*, William L. Marcy, Azariah C. Flagg, and others less prominent. Harriet A. Weed, ed., *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed*, p. 103.

[35] Gulian C. Verplanck (1786–1870), representative from New York, 1825–1833.

XII

Washington
26th Oct 1823

My dear sir,

I know that you must be fully occupied at this great crisis. The issue is made with you, between the *discipline* and the *principles* of the party. One or the other must yield. The people claim their constitutional right of choosing electors; the political managers, who have succeeded in wielding what is called party discipline will use every effort to evade or defeat their right. In such a contest, our advantage is immense. We are on the side that always has and always must prevail, under our system. In opposing the Radical party, it is now manifest, that we are contending under the same banners, under which contended the heroes of the Revolution, and the Republicans of '98 and 1812; the banners of the people, so long accustomed to victory. In such a contest our motto ought to be "fear not".

I am glad to see my old friend Ebenezer Sage step forward at this important junction. He is indeed a primitive Republican. Gardner, who has been nominated in opposition to Huntington, is a classmate of mine, and when I knew him he was a very fine republican. He was one of my friends, who dared speak out in college in 1803–1804 when federalism was so prevalent at Yale. I trust he will succeed. He was a man of very handsome talents.[36]

We need not fear excitement. The more excitement the more publick attention will be aroused, and the more it is aroused, the better the principles and policy of our cause will be understood.

When there is leisure a few able *nos.* in the Patriot calling the attention of the people of the U. States to the character of the Radical party, as displayed in your State, cannot but have a happy effect. The party has shown with you anti-Democratical colors; and it is that under which it must contend any where.

Sincerely
J C Calhoun

Gn[l] J G Swift

XIII

War Dept
30th Oct 1823

My dear sir,

I am much obliged to you for the jar of grapes. They came in good order and the flavor is excellent. I shall profit by your successful experience in the management of my very flourishing wine.

The wine is not yet arrived. It will come opportunely; and I do not doubt but that the flavor will prove excellent.

How old is it; and in what mode ought it to be treated? Ought it to be bottled, or put to demijohns? and if so at what time?

[36] Ebenezer Sage (1755–1834), representative from New York, 1809–1815; defeated in 1816 after a contest in the House of Representatives. David Gardiner (1784–1844), a wealthy lawyer who was elected to the New York State senate, as a Calhoun supporter, in 1824 and served until 1827. He was killed by the bursting of a gun on board the frigate Princeton at which time Upshur, the Secretary of State, Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy, Virgil Maxcy, one of Calhoun's intimate friends and supporters, and others were killed. Abel Huntington (1777–1858), defeated by David Gardiner for a seat in the New York State senate; representative from New York, 1833–1837.

If it would not be inconvenient to Mr. March, it would be some accomodation to me not to remit the amount till the 1st Dec[r]. The exchange has been so much against Augusta, my trading town, that I have not yet recovered the proceeds of my last year's crop. I have requested my factors, to send it on by private conveyance and will receive it by Mr. M[c]Duffie when he comes on to take his seat in Congress. If, however, it would be the least inconvenience, I will remit immediately.

with great respect
I am &c &c
J C Calhoun

Gn[l] Swift

XIV

Washington
9[th] Nov. 1823

My dear sir,

You need no apology, that your majority was not greater.[37] You have done miracles; and you have much exceeded my expectations. The overthrow will be felt over the whole Union; and those who are attached to just principles, will award to you due praise.

I have noticed the course of the paper to which you refer with regret, and do not doubt, but that you have attributed it, to the proper cause. I have always apprehended some danger from that quarter. The human mind is very various, and we not infrequently find very feeble, united to very powerful qualities, and executing schemes splendid and useful, may not have the wisdom of acting wisely in great political junctures; and one error may not permit the repetition of it under almost similar circumstances. Let us be prepared for all events. Keep separate, but attack none, save only the Radicals. Mr. Adams will decline, and we must do no act to throw off his friends. Our position is admirable, if we know how to profit of it. Your correspondence ought to be active *now*. Make known your victory by it. I think the pamphlet ought to be out by the meeting of the legislature at fartherest.[38] I have written to Haines. I wrote him, the same time, that I wrote you last. I trust he received my letter, tho he does not say if such be the fact, in his last. He has done much in this great victory; and is capable of doing much in the cause of principles and sound policy.

with sincere regard
I am &c &c
J C Calhoun

Gn[l] J G Swift

[marked] Re[d] 13 Nov '23
Ans[d] 21 Nov '23

[37] The New York State elections of 1823 resulted in the choice, by conspicuous majorities, of several candidates who were opposed to Van Buren and his faction. The Radicals, however, remained in control. Rammelkamp, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 f.; Jabez D. Hammond, *History of Political Parties in the State of New York*, II, 139 f.

[38] The pamphlet referred to was one written by Swift and captioned "Principles, not Men". Another pamphlet addressed to the "Citizens of North Carolina" was released in November, 1823. It was written either by Swift or McDuffie. Pamphlet in New York Public Library; Hay, *op. cit.*; J. G. Swift, *Memoirs*, p. 192.

(To be continued)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF GENERAL HISTORY

The Nature of the Social Sciences in relation to Objectives of Instruction. By CHARLES A. BEARD. [American Historical Association, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, Part VII.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934. Pp. x, 236. $1.75.)

DR. Beard's book is one of the basic volumes in the reports of the Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools, sponsored by the American Historical Association and executed under the direction of Professors A. C. Krey and G. S. Counts.

The recently published *Conclusions and Recommendations* of this commission aroused a great deal of controversy and attracted much public discussion. Of the work of the commission as a whole it may safely be said that it is one of the major landmarks in the history of American education as well as in the history of the social sciences in this country. It may well prove equally significant and potent in the reconstruction of American society if this is ever accomplished by rational methods and according to scientific principles.

Professor Beard has already written a brief volume for the commission entitled *A Charter for the Social Sciences,* a general introduction to the field of the social sciences and a vindication of the need for the kind of work which the commission has undertaken. The present volume is a more extensive and difficult work which treats of the problems of the social sciences as a whole, the nature of each of the leading social sciences, and the objectives to be sought for in improving the character of the social sciences and in making their content ever more useful for the guidance of human society. The book is one of the most thoughtful and constructive works ever published in the history of American social theory and pedagogical perspectives.

In his long introductory chapter on the nature of the social sciences Professor Beard comes to grips with the fundamental problem of whether the social sciences can ever attain to the exactness, precision, and objectivity of the mathematical and natural sciences. He frankly agrees that they cannot: "There is and can be no science of society or partial science of society, such as politics or economics, in any genuine sense of the term. No science, natural or social, really explains anything, if the term is employed with respect to exactness of thinking." Yet the social sciences can presume to provide us with a very accurate description of social data and social processes and can

formulate at least tentative laws of social behavior: "The social sciences cannot supply a complete body of deterministic laws covering all the relevant data of politics, economics, and sociology. They can, however, with the aid of the empirical method, disclose certain areas of human behavior in which repetitions of conduct and responses to stimuli seem so regular, for a short period of time, as to justify the application of the term 'laws' to them. For example, economists, as a result of historical inquiries, can predict within certain broad limits, what will happen to prices and wages, if the currency of a given country is extremely inflated." Moreover, whether strictly scientific or not, the social sciences bring forth a body of indispensable knowledge without which "modern civilization would sink down into primitive barbarism".

This introductory appraisal of the general field of social science and of the limitations imposed upon it by the nature of its materials is followed by a very thoughtful analysis of the character and problems of history, political science, economics, and cultural sociology. To this is appended a discussion of contemporary social trends in the United States, based in part upon Professor Beard's own wide observations and in part on the findings of the President's Committee on Recent Social Trends. As one familiar with Dr. Beard's professional interests and attitudes would expect, the chapters on history and political science are the most satisfactory and that on cultural sociology the least adequate.

Perhaps the most valuable and gratifying conclusion drawn from the author's analysis of the several social sciences is a crushing assault on the particularists who would jealously divide the social sciences into air-tight compartments. Dr. Beard defends with spirit and determination the thesis that any such thing as a separate or special social science is a figment of the imagination or the illusion of a partisan. The field of social science is a unified one and specialization can be justified only on the ground of promoting greater precision and convenience. A general acceptance of this point of view would do much to promote good will and intelligent coöperation among those at work in the social sciences. Accepting for purely pragmatic and pedagogical purposes the conventional divisions of social science, Dr. Beard suggests that they be arranged in the following order from considerations of logical sequence and pedagogical effectiveness: Geography, Economics, Cultural Sociology, Political Science, and History.

The author deals very sensibly with the bitterly controversial question of how far the social sciences should go in recommending social reform and in guiding the task of increasing the well-being of mankind. He recognizes that the ethical or normative aspect of social science, namely, its contribution to the guidance of social reform, is the one practical justification of the empirical or more rigorously scientific phase of social science. But he also concedes

that just to the degree that we pass over from the empirical into the ethical realm of social science we depart from strictly scientific controls.

The book as a whole conforms to the somewhat discrepant and paradoxical trend observable in Dr. Beard's recent writings. On the one hand, he is eminently practical and shows a wide acquaintance with the literature of contemporary social description and analysis. On the other hand, in his theoretical observations he espouses that extreme abstraction of which he was himself at one time perhaps the foremost American critic. In the place of recognition of the work of Lamprecht, Berr, Marvin, Robinson, Shotwell, Turner, Becker, and the like, we have reverent reference to the neo-Hegelian Croce, Heussi, Riezler, and Scheler. Even Hegel, who was once veritably Dr. Beard's personal devil, is mentioned with affection.

It may also be observed that in this, as well as in the other volumes thus far published by the commission, there is a regrettable and ungenerous ignoring of the scholars who really put the social science movement on its feet in the United States and created the interest in the field which made possible the origins and work of the present commission.

In any event, this volume and the work of the commission as a whole constitute a most impressive demonstration of the progress in liberality and tolerance on the part of American social scientists during the last thirty years. In New Orleans in 1903 there was a joint meeting of the American Sociological, Economic, and Historical associations at which Professor Franklin H. Giddings presented what he regarded as a common point of departure for the social sciences in the form of a highly generalized "Theory of Social Causation". Open, and in some cases bitter, hostility was evidenced toward this position by the economists and historians who commented on Professor Giddings's paper. This was particularly true of the historians. Thirty years later we find the American Historical Association sponsoring a position toward social science quite as synthetic, daring, and far-reaching in its implications as those set forth by Professor Giddings. There is every reason to think that the next thirty years will be even more productive of tolerance, urbanity, and constructive achievements in the realm of social science.

New School for Social Research. HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Geography in relation to the Social Sciences. By ISAIAH BOWMAN, Director of the American Geographical Society. *Geography in the Schools of Europe.* By ROSE B. CLARK, Nebraska Wesleyan University. [American Historical Association, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, Part V.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934. Pp. xvi, 382. $2.25.)

IN asking the question what contributions can geography make to the so-

called social sciences Dr. Bowman embarks upon a masterly treatise involving not only a profound discussion of the new concepts and techniques of geography but in addition a consideration of the aims and limitations of research in the social sciences. For the American geographer this admirably written essay will undoubtedly advance the horizons of his subject, and for the historian and others engaged upon the investigation of human affairs it should make clear the essential unity of the social sciences and awaken new interest in coöperative research.

Geography has abandoned the deterministic philosophy which formerly aroused so much ire. Now it is anathema to argue that man has harnessed nature or that nature controls man. It is in considering their interaction that modern geography finds its most valuable area of synthesis. Employing "the principle of dominance" the geographer seeks to identify regions throughout which there exists a high degree of harmony between human habitation and the physical environment. The natural landscape is important chiefly because it supplies the materials out of which the cultural landscape is formed. The shaping force, however, lies in the culture itself. This is a far cry from geographic determinism. On this broad horizon geography converges with history and anthropology to form a trilogy "to be torn asunder only with severe loss of truth and value to mankind". Indeed modern geography has advanced to the point where it tends to take hold of the broadest recognizable realities and relationships of human experience.

In discussing the new techniques Dr. Bowman makes observations that are as pertinent to historical as to geographical research. Relationship, even to the point of cause and effect, is not confined to the framework built out of statistically correlatable elements. In every human set-up there are periods of great fluidity that depend upon the spiritual aims of a people at a given moment, the changing impact and waywardness of dominating personalities, and like factors. Such forces cannot be analyzed statistically for they involve the element of human choice under emotional tension, and logic may play no part at all. Again, the geographer like any other social scientist will find that forecast in human affairs is supremely difficult because he must deal with newly conditioned behaviors that largely defy deductions based upon early behaviors. Indeed much history is a mere learning about the past, for the historian turning toward the future is equipped with few laws of behavior upon which to base conclusions. It is true, of course, that society may not need the resources that the geographer has so carefully surveyed and planned for. None the less scientific treatment should not be despaired of. It is common experience that before we reach the point of realization the goal itself has moved ahead. The benefit is not, after all, in reaching the goal but in the effort "to attain a goal selected by thought rather than left to caprice".

In this country geography and culture are not so closely interwoven as in

Europe. There to study environment in its cultural relationships is first to examine a rich culture. Ours has been essentially a wilderness conquest history. This difference is reflected in American geographical research, which is far less burdened with data of a historical and cultural nature. Possibly this situation accounts for the relative infrequency of historico-geographical research in this country. Yet for four hundred years American history has focused about swiftly turning adaptations and readaptations to the environment. Dr. Bowman makes much of the technique of "the science of settlement". It is to be hoped that some of our geographers will turn to the past, for here indeed is an analogous field worthy of the intelligent coöperation of the geographer and the historian.

Princeton University. J. E. Pomfret.

BOOKS OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Griechische Geschichte. Von Helmut Berve, Professor an der Universität Leipzig. Zweite Hälfte, *Von Perikles bis zur politischen Auflösung.* (Freiburg i. B. and St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company. 1933. Pp. 359. $3.15.)

The general character of this history of Greece has been indicated in the review of the first volume (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII, 304). Volume II resumes the story at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War and carries it on scale to the battle of Pydna and sketchily from that point to the incorporation of Syria and Egypt as provinces in the Roman Empire. It includes the epoch for which, on the basis of his earlier study (*Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographische Grundlage, Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII, 560), the author possesses demonstrated scientific competence. In the second portion of his work the broad subdivisions (Ionic, Doric, and Northwest Greek), fundamental in Berve's judgment for the whole subject, are submerged by more realistic political combinations; but they emerge from time to time to produce groupings which are often unhappy, as, for example, when the same native characteristics are ascribed to the Achæan and Ætolian Leagues, or when Ionic, used (misused, as I think) in Volume I to denote lack of city-state capacity, becomes in Volume II practically an expression for the spirit of rationalism and individualism connoted by the term sophistic. Into his account of the corrosive movement of feeling, thought, and life of which sophists, philosophers, and scientists were each in their way manifestations, Berve skillfully weaves an interesting and illuminating treatment of the synchronous growth of virtuosity on the part of the artisan-artist, entrepreneur, banker, architect, merchant, and manufacturer, thus explaining the versatility, elasticity, and efficiency of the Hellenistic Greek when with the change of the world situation coincident with Alexander's conquest of the

Persian Empire he put economics in place of politics in the forefront of his interests. The movement toward monarchy in Greece is traced back to the later days of Pericles and the precursors of Hellenism in Asia, the Greek mainland, and the West are brought into strong relief. The weaknesses of this system of government are implicit in the story, but they are treated as accidental and not inherent. The author's method of presentation is throughout undramatic in that he rarely permits the acts of persons or the totality of facts to speak for themselves and gives us instead his own appreciations of them; yet he fails to dwell on the catastrophic effects of hereditary monarchy when the throne falls, as it must, into the hands of minors, incompetents, or psychopathics, though the whole period is rich in illustrations of such occurrences (Dionysios II, the Young Alexander, Ptolemy IV, Antiochos IV), or when the succession is disputed, as it could not fail to be and actually was both in the third century and repeatedly in the second and first. Here is unused material for the political and moral reflections of which, in Berve's practice, history mainly consists. For taken as a whole his work is impressionistic. The author has a positive gift for abstract historical thinking and an appropriate style. He is not restrained by inhibitions which compel more circumspect historians to keep silent when evidence is lacking and frequently covers gaps in our knowledge by generalizations which cannot possibly be proved. In some places, where we have information, he simply omits refractory considerations. Thus Pericles's offer to submit the issues of the Peloponnesian War to arbitration, as required by treaty, is not mentioned, and from Berve's narrative the reader would never imagine that Attica had been invaded by Philip's troops before Athens joined Rhodes, Pergamum, and Rome in 200 B. C. It is clear from many indications that, though well informed and brilliantly endowed, Berve has not done the vast amount of spade work which gives distinction to Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte* and Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums*. His forte is interpretation: his weakness a penchant for irritating *clichés:* the result an intelligent, controversial book.

Harvard University. W. S. Ferguson.

Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain: Contribution à l'histoire des rapports de l'église et de l'état à la fin du quatrième siècle. Par Jean-Rémy Palanque, ancien élève de l'École normale supérieure, chargé de cours à l'Université de Montpellier.

Essai sur la préfecture du prétoire du Bas-Empire. Par Jean-Rémy Palanque. (Paris: E. de Boccard. 1933. Pp. xvi, 599; xvi, 144.)

In his preface M. Palanque warns us not to expect a full discussion of the career of St. Ambrose in his various rôles of theologian, author, or moralist, and limits the scope of his inquiry to his external activities, particularly his

relations with the emperors, his attitude toward religious policy, and his participation in public affairs. Following the introduction which traces the early life of Ambrose up to his installation as Bishop of Milan, Part I, entitled Saint Ambroise et la dynastie valentinienne, takes up in detail his relations with Valentinian I, Gratian, and Valentinian II, to the time of the invasion of Italy by Maximus in 387 A. D. Part II, Saint Ambroise et la dynastie théodosienne, traces with the same thoroughness the different phases of his negotiations and interviews with Theodosius I, with particular emphasis on the episodes of Callinicon and Thessalonica, and also his contacts with the usurper Eugenius, as well as with Honorius and Stilicho up to his death in 399. Here the author advances, somewhat tentatively, the suggestion that when Theodosius returned to the East in 391, he left Ambrose as his official representative in Italy where there was no Augustus in residence (p. 253). Part III is devoted to a concise presentation of the political ideas of St. Ambrose from the standpoint of obligations toward the state and obligations of the state, showing in how far these ideas were derived from Biblical writings, how far from pagan philosophy, and to what extent they were original. The fame of the bishop as a great teacher and great pastor rests, Palanque believes, on his personality rather than his learning: "Homme de l'Église avant tout, il a abordé le problème des relations avec l'État: implicitement au moins, et pratiquement, pour sa part, il y a apporté des solutions dont l'esprit se retrouvera, aux époques les plus différentes de la sienne, dans la doctrine même de l'Église" (p. 404). Three valuable appendixes contain, respectively, a critical study of the sources, researches on the origin of the works of St. Ambrose, and an investigation of Ambrosian chronology in which his birth is fixed as early in 339. A detailed bibliography, a chronological table, and an index complete this penetrating and stimulating work.

The primary purpose of M. Palanque's second study was to prepare a list, as accurate and as complete as possible, of the pretorian prefects of the fourth and early fifth centuries, but inevitably he was drawn into the broader problem of the origin and development of the regional prefectures themselves. Here, in spite of the work of Mommsen, Cuq, Seeck, and E. Stein, he has been able to reach new and important conclusions. In brief, he holds that the regional prefecture had its tentative beginnings under Constantine I, after 324 A. D.; that from 337 and 395 the normal number of perfectures was three (the Orient, Italy, Gaul); that a separate prefecture of Africa existed for a time under Constantine I and again from 355 to 356; that we have an Illyrian prefecture from 357 to 361 and again in 378, before its definitive establishment in 395; that collegiality in the respective prefectures was much rarer than Seeck maintained (Orient, 326–336; 379–381; 396–399; Occident, 378–380), and that throughout the whole period there was a tendency toward

the reappearance of the ministerial as contrasted with the administrative prefecture. The argument, which is most cogently presented, is based on an exhaustive study of the sources, in which the author suggests changing the dates adopted by Seeck for no less than sixty-seven constitutions, and makes a contribution of first-rate importance to the administrative history of the Late Empire.

The University of Michigan. A. E. R. Boak.

Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft. Von Erich Caspar. Band II, *Das Papsttum unter byzantinischer Herrschaft.* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 1933. Pp. xiv, 826. 39 M.)

The second volume of Professor Caspar's history covers the period from 461, the year of the death of Leo I, to 752, the year of the death of Zacharias, the last Greek pope and the last to send notice of his election to a Byzantine emperor. It is the period when, as Caspar remarks, the banner, "Thou art Peter", beneath which earlier popes had won their great victories, gave place to one bearing another word of the Lord to his apostle, "Thou shalt stretch forth thy hands and another shall gird thee and carry thee whither thou wouldest not".

From 461, however, down to the reign of Justinian the popes maintained their independence of the Eastern court. Felix III, Gelasius, and Symmachus ignored imperial suggestions for leniency to heretics and Hormisdas won a triumph for orthodoxy at Constantinople equal almost to that of Leo at Chalcedon. Behind these popes stood the hordes of Odoacer and Theodoric and imperial writs ran no longer in Italy.

But with Justinian's conquest of Italy the popes immediately sank to the position of "patriarchs of the West" in the Constantinian *Reichskirche.* Rome might be formally recognized as chief of the patriarchates. The tradition that demanded the submission of doctrine to the See of Peter might outwardly be respected. But such signs of deference were not incompatible with a Caesaropapism that expressed itself in the emperors' claim to the throne of Melchizedek, who was both king and priest. Nothing more was heard of the claim of Gelasius to a sacred authority that shared with imperial power the right to rule mankind. The popes were valuable agents of the Empire in the West. Rome prevented the consolidation of a Lombard kingdom in Italy. But whenever an emperor's personal convictions or political strategy required some dogmatic concession to his Monophysite, Monothelite, or Paulician subjects, he imposed the concession upon the entire *Reichskirche* by an Edict of Three Chapters, a Henoticon, or a Typus and all patriarchs must signify their approval. If the Roman turned stubborn, there were ways to make him pliant, as Vigilius, Martin I, and Constantine learned in due course.

Popes became propitiatory, compromising, obsequious in their relations with the state. Gregory I might expostulate with the Eastern autocrat in the language of a devoted and submissive servant but never in the old, high phrases of Ambrose or of Leo.

A century later, Gregory II ceased suddenly to be a submissive servant, forbade the collection of imperial taxes in the duchy of Rome, and openly condemned the profaners of holy images. But by then he could count on an aroused population in Central and Northern Italy, alienated from Constantinople by years of burdensome taxation, poor government, and religious innovation, ready to join the Lombards against the Greeks. In vain the emperor seized the papal estates in Calabria and Sicily and cut off communication with Rome, thereby expelling the papacy from the *Reichskirche,* "because the pope of Old Rome has passed under the dominion of the barbarians". The popes were no longer dependent upon their place in the diminished ranks of the ancient "una ecclesia" and were increasingly alive to the possibilities of the new world opening along the Danube and the Rhine.

The outstanding distinction of this history is, as I pointed out in my review of Volume I (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXVI, 364), the consistently unified and vigorous character of the treatment, the concentration of attention on an institution as the gradual realization in time of a supreme idea. Even through the period of weakness and depression, popes are judged not by their piety or other private virtues but by their contribution to the development of the idea. Gregory I, in spite of his saintly bearing and his Anglo-Saxon mission, is rated less a pope than Gelasius. Subsidiary enterprises, such as the organization of the bureaucratic *Curia,* the elaboration of church liturgy and architecture, the administration of the growing Patrimony, are briefly described. They may be found more fully studied elsewhere. Caspar's history shows us, as no other does, the spirit of Peter and of Old Rome emerging from bondage to claim the presidency over a new age. In the way of documentation, the ample footnotes and bibliographical appendixes leave nothing to be desired.

Wells College. LOUISE R. LOOMIS.

Histoire du Moyen Age. Par HENRI PIRENNE, professeur émérite de l'Université de Gand, GUSTAVE COHEN, professeur à la Sorbonne, HENRI FOCILLON, professeur à la Sorbonne. Tome VIII, *La civilisation occidentale au Moyen age du XI^e^ au milieu du XV^e^ siècle.* [Histoire général, publiée sous la direction de Gustave Glotz, membre de l'Institut.] (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France. 1933. Pp. 705. 75 fr.)

INSTEAD of presenting a single study of Western civilization during the Middle Ages this volume offers three separate discussions of different aspects

of that civilization. Economic and social developments are outlined by Pirenne, intellectual, moral, and literary movements by Cohen, and artistic movements by Focillon. In each case there is an extensive summary of the subject embracing the conclusions of recent scholarship. The result is an academic handbook useful for advanced students (candidates for the doctor's degree reviewing for their general examinations). This does not mean that the book cannot be used by others, but it would be difficult for one unfamiliar with some medieval literature to comprehend Cohen, and Focillon obviously presupposes that his reader has a wide familiarity with examples of architecture and sculpture. To understand Pirenne, however, requires less specialized training and an English translation of his section would be welcomed in many American college classes.

In some respects Pirenne is summarizing his own studies and elaborating ideas which he has presented elsewhere. The result is something more extensive than, but not unlike, his *Medieval Cities* and his *Belgian Democracy*. His discussion is enlivened by consideration for the psychological and human elements which gave impulse to social and economic development. The spirit of adventure and the profit motive he regards as inherent in human nature, and commercial activity springs from these. The ascetic ideal, he asserts, is suitable only to an agricultural society, and clerical opposition to the spirit of gain so essential to trade he ascribes to a fundamental moral disagreement rather than to tyranny or arrogance. The absence of profit motive before the commercial revival he attributes to the absence of opportunity in an epoch of economic self-sufficiency. The nature of medieval speculation, the earliest indications of commercial capitalism, the sacred egoism of medieval towns, the exclusive self-seeking of medieval gilds all receive due attention and penetrating comment. Particular emphasis is laid upon the problem of population as fundamental to an understanding of medieval economics.

Probably Professor Cohen had the most difficult task of the three, and his section is the least successful. His treatment of the subject by half centuries is unduly mechanical, although its academic usefulness may be increased by such subdivisions. Three quarters of his text is devoted to literary history, an arrangement which may seem unbalanced to some. There are those also who will think that he carries too far his emphasis upon French cultural preëminence and influence, particularly when he dismisses Wyclif with two very casual allusions. It is easy to query the assertion that English literature in the late twelfth century exhibits "une tendance moralisatrice et didactique, qui restera l'apanage de la littérature anglaise jusques et y compris l'époque victorienne". Something of his point of view may be surmised from his repetition of the phrase "*Gesta Dei per Francos,* les Croisades, *Gesta amoris per Francos,* le roman courtois". On the other hand his summary of medieval

Latin literature and his treatment of it as an essential part of medieval civilization is most welcome. The same is true of his demonstration of the Humanistic phases of medieval culture and of the slow evolution from the Middle Ages of the Renaissance.

For Focillon art is "l'expression supérieure du Moyen Age", the thing which gives the epoch "sa signification organique, sa valeur de cycle dans la série des civilisations". An enthusiastic admiration is characteristic of his discussion, but this does not prevent that discussion from being thoroughly intellectual. He has theories of the relation of art to culture, of what constitutes vitality in architectural development, and wherein medieval architecture is an expression of Western thought and of Northern genius. These he develops at length in a technical discussion which can be grasped only by careful study and extensive illustration. Attention centers upon France, but there are also very interesting considerations of Oriental influences and of the peculiar developments in Spain. Like Cohen he emphasizes medieval Humanism, particularly of Gothic sculpture, and shows the way in which the Renaissance develops from the Middle Ages.

Williams College. RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: a Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People. By G. R. OWST, M.A., D.Litt., and Ph.D. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xxiv, 616. $8.00.)

A half-dozen years of further research in the unpublished sermon literature of England in the later Middle Ages by the author of *Preaching in Medieval England* (1926) have borne fruit in this big and important and interesting volume. Two features of it are deserving of special attention. First, the author has made it his principal task to demonstrate, explain, and illustrate the debt which English literature owes to the medieval English pulpit—a debt which he regards as both varied and immense, especially in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, particularly on the part of the writers of political songs and poems, of miracle and morality plays, and of the dramas of the Tudor epoch. There is certainly much in this part of the work, particularly with respect to details which cannot be mentioned here, which will arouse discussion, and probably also controversy, among experts in literary history. The present reviewer can say no more than that he has received much instruction and that he has been greatly impressed by the author's main contention but that he thinks it has been pressed too far, that direct literary dependence has been frequently asserted where the evidence falls far short of proof and that there is not sufficient recognition that preachers, playwrights, and poets when they express the same thoughts, and even clothe them in similar language, may yet have been drawing independently

from a single fountainhead, namely, the life and thoughts of the age in which they lived, with its background of inherited tradition.

It is the second feature of the book which will prove most useful to those who are not especially concerned with literature, namely, its broad contribution to social history. Medieval preachers, especially the mendicants and others who used the vernacular, came close to the life of the people, and by their very calling they were concerned in a peculiar way with the public welfare. Their social and political outlook was, to be sure, largely dominated by tradition and by the interests of their own class and of the institution which they served. Yet it was they more than anyone else in medieval society who concerned themselves with moral and social, perhaps even with political, questions; and it was they more than anyone else who have left on record their thoughts about these matters. In three long and absorbing chapters (comprising some 260 pages) devoted to the pulpit literature of satire and complaint, Dr. Owst has analyzed and copiously illustrated the moral commentary of the preachers on every order and group in later medieval society; and in a final chapter he has attempted a comprehensive statement of their political and social ideals and of their reaction to the economic and social stresses of the age in which they lived. This is certainly a notable contribution to the social history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but in two respects it seems somewhat disappointing. The author does indeed recognize the limitations of the material which he uses, which arise from the inevitable bias of preachers and moralists; but it seems to us that he often fails to pay sufficient attention to this bias when drawing his conclusions. Also we think he is at fault in treating so long a period as a unit and in not attempting to trace through it important developments which certainly took place. Often it is impossible for the reader, at least without much vexatious effort, to determine even the approximate date of a piece of evidence which is being cited.

This brings us to our final criticism—the lack of a bibliography, even of the primary materials which have been used. The author has described his book as "merely an introductory guide", and certainly one of its chief merits is its extensive quotation from unprinted and little-known sources. An essential feature of such a work would certainly seem to be a convenient list of the sources used, together with such details as location and language of the manuscripts, place and date of composition, and authorship where known. The author has excused his omission with the statement that a bibliography of English sermon manuscripts to be of any lasting value would require the work of more than a lifetime. A full and definitive catalogue would doubtless require a vast labor; but a preliminary list of the manuscripts which the author has explored and used and cited would not have added an impossible burden, and it would certainly have been of great value not only to users of

this book but to all future researchers in the field to which Dr. Owst has opened the way.

Bryn Mawr College. C. W. David.

The Mediæval Mason: an Economic History of English Stone Building in the Later Middle Ages and Early Modern Times. By Douglas Knoop, M.A., Professor of Economics in the University of Sheffield, and G. P. Jones, M.A., Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Sheffield. [The University of Manchester, No. CCXXVII.] (Manchester: University Press; New York: Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Company. 1933. Pp. xii, 294. $5.00.)

The Manchester University Economic History series, which began so auspiciously with Unwin's study of Samuel Oldknow, adds another cubit to its stature by publishing this study of the medieval mason. In attempting to discover how the abbeys, cathedrals, castles, and bridges of the Middle Ages were built, Professor Knoop and Mr. Jones ran into a good but difficult subject. Some source material, such as fabric rolls, had already been published, and manuscripts were unearthed dealing with the construction or maintenance of a thirteenth century abbey, two fourteenth century castles, Eton College, and London Bridge. Yet the sum total was scanty or was hard to interpret; such phrases as "we do not know" and "it is not clear" abound, and many valiant attempts at conclusion by argument—most of them convincing—have been made.

The mason does not fit into the orthodox picture of medieval crafts. Most houses—even manor houses—were built of wood, clay, straw, reeds, and tiles; the urban demand for stonework was so small that even towns like Oxford, York, and Norwich had probably not more than a dozen masons each. Most of the work was done for the crown, the big lords, the Church, and the largest cities, in answer to the call of defense, luxury, or piety. Only the ecclesiastical or lay leaders could command the money needed to buy the great quantities of materials and pay the big wages bills. How large a job might be is seen from the army of 400 masons, 1000 laborers, and 230 other workers employed on Beaumaris Castle. The men who did the work were wage-earners. Some remained in one spot for years, but others wandered round seeking jobs or were dragged as far as two hundred miles when the king ordered the sheriff to impress masons for work on a certain building. Some tasks lasted a long time; Carnarvon Castle took thirty-eight years to build, Eton College was not finished after nineteen years, and the nave at Westminster took 150 years. Stone was sometimes brought long distances—from Yorkshire to Eton, and from Caen to many English points; hence transportation sometimes accounted for six-sevenths of the total cost of the material. Sedentary specialists carved reredos, images, and statues in urban

workshops, and there is a hint of mass production in a transaction involving the sale of fifty-eight heads of John the Baptist.

All the available facts are squeezed "till the pips squeak" in the effort to discover the organization, finance, and administration of the industry, and the status, equipment, training, and working conditions of the mason. Since the industry was largely extra-urban, gilds were late in appearing, but there were "customs" which seem to have prevailed over the whole country, which were eventually committed to writing, and which controlled almost every aspect of the mason's work. The book is not easy to read; the pages are crammed with details, some of which might have gone into footnotes; and there is some repetition. But the authors have opened a new window on medieval industry.

The University of Minnesota. HERBERT HEATON.

The Estates of Crowland Abbey: a Study in Manorial Organisation. By FRANCES M. PAGE, Ph.D. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History, General Editor, J. H. Clapham, Professor of Economic History in the University of Cambridge.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. xiv, 462. $7.50.)

STUDENTS of the medieval manor, from whatever angle, judicial, economic, social, administrative, will welcome Miss Page's careful study of the records of the Crowland Abbey estates, which are especially full for those in Cambridgeshire. The admirable appendixes, also, contain full transcripts of court rolls and account rolls, and numerous statistical tables of prices, wages, grain yields, etc., and should prove particularly valuable for comparative study.

Nearly all these Crowland manors were in and not of the vill. In consequence, there will be found records of interesting negotiations between the councils of the various lords. A good deal of space is given to a discussion of the part played by the court in the manorial administration. The chief pledges seem to have formed a kind of bureaucracy within the manor, filling important administrative positions until after the Black Death when new names appear. Then the loss of experienced officers noticeably affects the efficiency of the manorial administration, especially after 1360.

As regards the system of estate management one wishes Miss Page could have thrown more light on the question of the steward's salary, and might have told us more of the connection of the abbey with the manors, the counterpart of the picture Mr. Saunders has given us in his Norwich Priory records. And what was the 'profit of the manor'? The item appears at least twice (pp. 240, 256) in the accounts transcribed in the appendix but Miss Page has given us no hint as to how she thinks it may have been reckoned.

The three field system obtained on these manors and the yield of grain

seems to have been good, without any decline in the productivity of the soil in the later Middle Ages. Some interesting information regarding labor services is noted, but Miss Page reaches the important conclusion that the cultivation of the demesne was accomplished chiefly by the manorial servants rather than by the labor services owed by the villein tenants. She also finds that the assized rent of the bailiff's account did include *permanently* commuted labor services, so that any increase in this item of the account after the Black Death must have some bearing on the question of the effects of the visitation on the permanent commutation of labor services. Miss Page is unwilling to ascribe to the Black Death, as such, "any far-reaching influence upon subsequent events" (p. 125), yet she demonstrates elsewhere beyond question its disastrous effect on population and the consequent difficulty of finding tenants which was only postponed till near the end of the century by reason of the growth of the composite holding. There is abundant other evidence, too, with regard to the breakdown of the manorial organization after 1360, which seems to suggest that Miss Page has perhaps been overcautious in her evaluation.

Berkeley, California. EDITH C. LOWRY.

BOOKS OF MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Portuguese Pioneers. By EDGAR PRESTAGE, Camoens Professor of Portuguese Language, Literature, and History in the University of London.

England's Quest of Eastern Trade. By Sir WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E., Formerly Historiographer to the India Office. [The Pioneer Histories, edited by V. T. Harlow and J. A. Williamson.] (London: A. and C. Black; New York: Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xiv, 352; xiv, 354. $4.00 each.)

THERE is a romantic interest in the far away and the long ago, in tales of struggle against great natural difficulties, in reports of strange lands and alien peoples. Seen in safe retrospect, few periods have presented such a variety of epic efforts as make up the activities of the peoples of Western Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There is a very real sense, however, in which the discoveries, conquests, settlements, trade contacts, and missionary efforts of that period laid the foundations for the modern world order. Material drawn from these centuries, then, should be both entertaining and significant.

The volumes under review are among the early publications in a series of *Pioneer Histories*. Other volumes are to deal with such topics as the West Indies, the Spanish conquerors, the Great Trek of the Boers, and the exploration of the Pacific. The accounts are sufficiently popular in style to appeal to

the general reader, and yet soundly enough based on the documents to be of distinct value to the historian.

The volume on the Portuguese pioneers brings together a great deal of information not otherwise available in English. The author accepts the earlier view, for a while discredited by Vignaud, that Prince Henry the Navigator had as one object the discovery of a sea route to India (p. 166). He thinks also that the Portuguese probably knew of Brazil some years before Cabral's voyage of 1500, and he shows definitely that the latter's "discovery" was not the result of being driven from his course by a storm (p. 277). While the indebtedness of the Portuguese to foreign seamen during the earlier period is admitted, their independent contributions to navigation, cartography, and shipbuilding are emphasized. Occasionally minute historical details slow up the narrative, but quotations and running summaries of the voyages as narrated by various survivors are frequent and interesting.

The initiative of the Portuguese royal house was important in sending out the expeditions of exploration, trade, and missionary enterprise. In England the merchants themselves took a greater initiative, though not without royal interest and support. It was need for a market for English cloth and a desire to share in the profitable spice trade with Asia that started various merchant adventurers, usually associated in regulated or joint-stock companies, on their search. The title, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade,* well suggests the motive which gives a unity to the various attempts to reach eastern Asia by northeast and northwest passages, overland through Russia and Persia, and by way of the Cape and the Strait of Magellan. The elements of the story are perhaps somewhat more familiar than those of the Portuguese voyages, but such accounts as those of the struggle with the Dutch in the East Indies are useful summaries of scattered material. Not much attention is given to the developments in England affecting the fortunes of the various companies.

The University of Chicago. ARTHUR P. SCOTT.

Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, 1517–1585. Herausgegeben von KARL SCHOTTENLOHER. [Die Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation.] (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann. 1933. Pp. x, 631.)

DURING the past few years, since its foundation in 1917 on the four-hundredth anniversary of Luther's epoch-making protest, the Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation has amply justified its existence by sponsoring the publication of a number of valuable sources for the study of its chosen field. The commission now places students of German history still more deeply in its debt by making possible the publication of a comprehensive bibliography of the history of

Germany during the Reformation and Counter Reformation. The first volume is under the able editorship of Dr. Karl Schottenloher, who has already made extensive contributions to the field of sixteenth century bibliography.

The new bibliography is planned on a magnificent scale and, if one may judge by the first volume, will be carried out with the exhaustive thoroughness that we have learned to expect from German scholarship. It is not intended to be merely a bibliography of religious history, but is to include works on every aspect of German life during the sixteenth century. When complete, it will be composed of four separate parts, "Personen, Orte, Reich und Länder mit ihren Fürsten, Sachen". The present volume, comprising 14,652 titles, represents only the first half of the first part, the biographical works from A to L. In an effort to make the collection as comprehensive as possible, the boundaries of time and place indicated in the title have been overstepped whenever there seemed sufficient reason to do so. Thus works dealing with the earlier or later history of men, the major part of whose lives fell within the period chosen, have been included, as have also the biographies of men from neighboring lands, whose history was so closely connected with Germany as to form part of its general story.

Even in so comprehensive a collection there must be some exclusion. The editor, therefore, has made no attempt to list unpublished sources, or indeed anything written in the sixteenth century, except works of a biographical nature, which fall rightly within the classification of literature on the subject, and later critical editions of other works, which contain in introductions or notes valuable contributions to the biography of the original author. The inclusion of the latter is particularly fortunate, since it gives us the titles of those numerous scholarly editions of the correspondence of Humanists and Reformers that are such an invaluable aid in studying the cultural or religious history of that crucial period.

As has been indicated, the new bibliography possesses all the virtues of thoroughness and completeness. But that, unfortunately, is about all that can be said for it. It is entirely uncritical, presenting nothing more than a list of titles, though those are given in full. There is no indication of the scope or relative importance of the works listed. Moreover, the arrangement is sometimes a little confusing, particularly in the long lists of works dealing with Luther, Erasmus, Calvin, and the other more important figures. Here it is often difficult to find any special title for which one may be looking. The only sure way of locating it is apparently to read through the entire list, which in the case of Luther and Erasmus at least is no mean task. In short, the practical usefulness of the collection as a guide to historical research is vitiated by its very completeness. The average student will find more aid and comfort from the less comprehensive but more critical and rational *Quellenkunde der*

deutschen Reformationsgeschichte of Gustav Wolf or even from Franz Schnabel's relatively brief *Quellen und Darstellungen der Reformation.* The editor might have been well advised had he followed the example of the excellent series of *Bibliography of British History,* edited by Charles Gross, Godfrey Davies, and Conyers Read, in the method of selection and exclusion and in the useful notes and comments to guide the student through the maze of literature on the subject. Still, the virtues of completeness are not to be scorned. Dr. Schottenloher's exhaustive compilation will be a welcome aid to anyone seeking a full bibliography, including periodical literature, on any subject within its field, as well as to those whose subjects of research are of such minor importance as to force their exclusion from any less complete survey.

New York University. WALLACE K. FERGUSON.

Cournot, Considérations sur la marche des idées et des événements dans les temps modernes. Texte revu et présenté par F. MENTRÉ. Deux tomes. [Bibliothèque de philosophie.] (Paris: Boivin and Company. 1934. Pp. xxxi, 354; 376. 60 fr.)

COURNOT is the French Buckle or the French Lecky. Like them, and like his compatriot, Taine, he believed that the key to history would be found in science, and particularly in that statistical view of nature and of man that was given such prominence in the work of Laplace, Gauss, Quetelet, and Comte. A mathematician by profession, he easily saw that the interpretation of statistics is a calculus of probability, and that the larger the number of data the greater is their apparent regularity. In studying the human record from this point of view, he observed that the evolution of society depends partly on accidents and partly on the operation of ascertainable laws. In the early eras, he believed, the rôle of accident preponderated, because the fortunes of a state then depended chiefly on the genius of its ruler, and the quality of this genius was an accident. But in modern times the evolution of society depends not on a despot or legislator, but on the coöperation of large numbers; and, by the mathematical law of large numbers, an increasing regularity and order is introduced into history.

With these theories he set out to interpret modern history, which he began with the discovery of America in 1492, and which he divided into periods by exact centuries from this date (*i.e.,* by the years 1592, 1692, and 1792). As he could not fit the French Revolution into this scheme, he devoted to it a separate section which he placed not, as one would think natural, between the chapters on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but at the end of the whole work.

His real and meritorious originality lies in his perception of the importance of intellectual history. In most general histories, he remarked, the

body of the work is devoted to political and military history, and a supplementary chapter on the progress of the arts and sciences is added by way of an appendix. "Let us", said he, "reverse this process, taking for the main subject of our work the labor of the human mind and for supplement and accessory what is really nothing but the biography of a people". Except in this one particular his treatment of history is conventional and lacking in useful ideas. He had no conception of the importance of economic factors. He dismissed the American Revolution in a single sentence. His accounts of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Reformation are now hopelessly obsolete. Even in the history of science, his specialty, he was eclectic and conventional. Though he devoted a chapter to the debate on the origin of species, he examined Darwin's evolutionary hypothesis only to reject it. In short, even with the advantage of this new edition of his work, prefaced by the editor's eulogy, he will be little read outside France. There is something about him in Flint's *Historical Philosophy in France,* but his name does not appear in Fueter's *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie.*

Cornell University. PRESERVED SMITH.

Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis Anfang 1534. Band II, *Juli 1525 bis Ende 1527.* Herausgegeben von EMIL DÜRR und PAUL ROTH. [Historische und antiquarische Gesellschaft zu Basel.] (Basel: Universitätsbibliothek. 1933. Pp. ix, 751. 28 M.)

THIS is the second volume in a highly valuable series throwing new light not only on the Reformation in Basel, but also in Switzerland and Upper Germany. The first volume in the series appeared about twelve years ago. It was edited by Dr. Emil Dürr. Since then he has been joined by Dr. Paul Roth, director of the city archives in Basel, and together they have produced this second volume. It has been a task requiring enormous labor, great skill, and the highest type of devotion to real scholarship. Just the problem of orthography alone has been extremely exacting and has been solved with great care.

The documents included in the collection are of a far wider variety than the title indicates. They are not merely sources bearing on the Basel Reformation. They are sources related to the history of Basel during the years of the Reformation. A great many of the documents have never yet been printed and should add much valuable new material, or even change accepted conclusions. Many others are already to be found in printed collections. Probably the largest portion of the numbers are civil records; such as, credentials, oaths, expense accounts, minutes of the council meetings, correspondence between Basel and other cities, treaties, decisions of the Swiss diets, inventories, and judicial records. One of the best examples of the last class of

documents are those relating to the extensive prosecution of Stephen Storr, a leader in the Peasants' Revolt. The editors have included small and apparently unimportant documents with as much care as the long and evidently valuable ones. In this they have shown themselves wise, for in the multiplicity of the minor records there is much useful material; for example, the names of people. Or, perhaps some candidate for a Ph.D., searching for a subject for his dissertation, might find here a good field in the accounts of expenses, for they are a good illustration of municipal finance in the early sixteenth century. Some of the most important documents are a rare letter from Erasmus on November 1, 1525 (?), the lengthy opinion of Œcolampadius and the other preachers on the Mass, June, 1527, and the reply made to it by the Catholics.

While the collection provides information on a profuse number of subjects, those on which it gives the fullest amount of light are the following: the Peasants' Revolt and the measures used to control it; diplomatic relations with the other Swiss cities, with the Bishop of Basel, with Ferdinand of Austria, and with nearby German cities; the rise of the Reformation in Basel; and the Anabaptists. It is interesting to note that the subject of the Anabaptists appears on the city records just as the references to the Peasants' Revolt begin to disappear. One of the most important sources dealing with the Anabaptists is the full account of the disputation between Œcolampadius and Carlin.

Though the great contributions made by this publication are evident at a glance, there are certain matters of editing by which it might be greatly improved. For example, a table of contents, listing the documents in each volume would be of assistance to any research worker, as would also an exhaustive index, or at least an index of names. Even more to be desired is a brief summary of each document, just preceding the text, and explanatory footnotes. There is almost no attempt to give additional information in the footnotes, as is done so admirably, for instance, in the edition of *Zwinglis Werke* in the *Corpus Reformatorum*. It is to be hoped that in the future the editors will find it possible to add some of these features.

Ohio Wesleyan University. HASTINGS EELLS.

La prépondérance espagnole, 1559–1660. Par HENRI HAUSER, professeur à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris. [Peuples et civilisations, Histoire générale, publiée sous la direction de Louis Halphen et Philippe Sagnac, IX.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1933. Pp. 594. 60 fr.)

THE title of this splendid volume will inevitably excite surprise, for it is difficult to see how "la prépondérance espagnole"—unquestioned during the reign of Philip II, or at least down to 1585—can be regarded as maintained during the first half of the seventeenth century. Nor does Professor Hauser

really contend that it is. He assures us, it is true, that "Les historiens se hâtent trop, après la mort de Philippe III (1621), de parler de la décadence irrémédiable de l'Espagne"; he gives us notable pages on "Les nouveaux triomphes de l'Espagne (1612–1623)" and on "Richelieu contre Olivarès (1621–1631)"; but these sections of his work go to prove rather that Europe was still profoundly impressed by the magnificent game of bluff behind which Spanish decadence was for a long time concealed, than that the Hapsburg monarchy had not actually passed its zenith. A fairer idea of the true contents of the work that lies before us is afforded by the titles of the four books into which it is subdivided: "La réforme catholique et l'hégémonie espagnole (1559–1576)", "La maîtrise des mers (1576–1603)", "La crise européenne et la formation de la puissance française (1603–1660)", and "L'évolution matérielle et spirituelle des sociétés européennes du début du XVII^{e} siècle à 1660".

The bulk of the story, as one would naturally expect, revolves around the history of the Western European states—of Spain, of the Netherlands, of England, of France, and of the Empire. But the remoter countries are by no means neglected. There are excellent sections on Akbar, the Grand Mogul, on the "Formation de l'unité japonaise", on the "Fermeture du Japon", on the fall of the Ming dynasty and the Manchu invasion in China, on Russia in "le temps des troubles", on the Turkey of the Kiuprilis, and on the Baltic states, and finally on the overseas colonies of France, of Holland, and of England. The chapters on cultural history and on "transformations économiques" are also noteworthy. Particularly interesting—in these distressful days—is the point that Philip II, despite his enforced declarations of bankruptcy, consistently refused to permit any depreciation of the currency of Spain. But we cannot help feeling that the best parts of the whole book are those which deal with the civil wars in France. Professor Hauser is a recognized master of the entire field with which he deals, but his mastery of the history of his native land is unique. His pages on it are perfectly clear to the merest tyro. On the other hand, they contain much which the ripest scholar will find infinitely worth while.

The volume is marred by a number of petty slips—so petty, in fact, that one is inclined to attribute them rather to the printer than to the author. Such, *e.g.*, are "dix" for "vingt" (p. 1); "*hujus*" for "*ejus*" (p. 45); "frère" for "beau-frère" (p. 73). All these, however, can be easily corrected in a second edition, and militate but slightly against the solid value of the work as a whole. One is naturally tempted to compare it with Volume V of Lavisse and Rambaud's *Histoire générale*—entitled *Les guerres de religion*—which covers the same field, and came out thirty-nine years ago. M. Hauser's scholarship is always up-to-date. He makes full use of all the important material that has become available in the past four decades, and his work

accurately represents the new interpretations and emphases that have recently come to the fore. The contrasts between the two books afford an excellent index of the progress of French historical scholarship during the interval that separates them.

Harvard University. ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Witchcraft and Demonianism: a Concise Account derived from Sworn Depositions and Confessions obtained in the Courts of England and Wales. By C. L'ESTRANGE EWEN. (London: Heath Cranton. 1933. Pp. 495. 25*s*.)

THIS book, like its author's earlier *Witch Hunting and Witch Trials,* brings welcome enlargement to our knowledge of how British courts dealt with those accused of witchcraft. His earlier volume explored their unpublished records, especially those of the counties surrounding London (the "Home Circuit"), whose files were oldest and most complete; and the indictments he printed not only made clear the procedure, but showed the number of the accused much greater than we had known. In the present book his research takes a wider scope. Though it is not, he tells us, a history of witchcraft, but "merely a collection of information", the information takes the form of a very careful summary and analysis of the confessions and depositions preserved to us in the printed accounts of English witch cases from 1538 to 1717, while appendixes take up the manuscript records of those courts not covered by his earlier book—the Northern, Western, and Midland circuits, those of Norfolk and Oxford, and the palatinates of Durham, Lancaster, and Chester, with a glance into the court records of Wales and the published ones of Middlesex and a rich gleaning of "minor items".

The weakest part of Mr. Ewen's book is its 120-page introduction. Its opening sketch of the history and nature of witchcraft shows no knowledge of the Continental studies in this field, which far outweigh aught we have in English; and, alas, he trusts an English author so credulous as Mr. Montague Summers or so fanciful as Miss Margaret Murray. Mr. Summers, whom Mr. Ewen takes for a Roman Catholic, not an Anglican, he even counts an "eminent" exponent of the Catholic view; and his reading in the older demonologists seems bounded by the ultra-credulous few whom Mr. Summers has Englished. Nor does he seem to grasp that the theories of all these, like those of Mr. Summers and Miss Murray, rest on just such extorted "confessions" as those which in the field of his own research he so wisely distrusts. That his notion of the existence throughout Christendom, and from the first, of "two opposing religions, Christianity and Satanism . . . the ritual and literature of the one being antithetical to that of the other", rests on a basis no sounder, he seems not even to suspect.

But even this introduction he enriches with many a fragment of his own

research; and so sturdy even here is the good sense and the insight that everywhere mark his first-hand criticism that it is not hard to forgive, however one may regret, his borrowed misconceptions. Indeed, his wholesome skepticism is the weightier because his reading has been too narrow to show him how widely and how long scholars of all schools and faiths have been approaching similar conclusions.

By the awkward word "Demonianism", long now in disuse, he means, he tells us, "the doctrine of demoniacal possession". But, since belief in demoniacal possession must inevitably bring with it belief in demons, it is hard to see why the briefer and more intelligible "Demonism" could not have served as well. Eight plates, from manuscripts or rare pamphlets, enrich the book.

Cornell University. GEORGE L. BURR.

The First Earl of Shaftesbury. By LOUISE FARGO BROWN. [American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1933. Pp. xi, 350. $4.00.)

IT has now been more than sixty years since Mr. Christie penned his great brief for the defense of the first Earl of Shaftesbury. That defense has hardly been challenged in any formal fashion in the intervening years; nor can this more elaborate account of Shaftesbury's activities be regarded as in any sense a challenge to Christie's plea. It is a better rounded, fuller account of them. It raises questions which Christie omitted or evaded. It takes account of various materials which were inaccessible to him. It has much to do with colonial and committee activities. It has more background and more atmosphere. But to Miss Brown, as to Christie, one thing is still denied; and without it we shall never get to the heart of the great problem of Lord Shaftesbury. It is the lack of the essential papers, those more intimate and more secret—and so more dangerous—communications which, despite his caution, he must have had to write. If we had them and the like manuscripts of Monk, we should be able to write the history of the Restoration from that side which makes it most interesting and would make it more understandable.

Despite that lack, Miss Brown has written an excellent book. It gives us, in the opinion of one reader, the best portrait we have had of that most adroit of politicians and most capable of political organizers. It shows his origins and his more intimate side. It gives us an admirable account of his more or less non-political, official activities. It has suggestions, even where it cannot find exact documentary proof, of those darker designs of which we know only the surface manifestations. Nor is it Miss Brown's fault that such documentary proof is lacking. She has searched, so far as one may judge, in every quarter for it; and every page of her lucid and admirable account of Restoration politics gives evidence of her knowledge of that intricate subject. She

shows a familiarity with Shaftesbury's movements which is at times almost startling; and that familiarity often enables her to explain points in his career which might otherwise wait long and vainly for such explanation. As a result she makes her subject, if not more likeable, at least more understandable; if—again to one reader—no less suspicious. One point she might have made, though a small one, in this connection, as to the Popish Plot. It is that Slingsby Bethel's brother was Hugh Bethel, the physician, and in a house belonging to him, it seems, Oates and Tonge drew up their document. That would appear to bring Lord Shaftesbury somewhat nearer to that great design, even though he did not "invent" it.

To many readers, most of all, no doubt, to English readers, the account of Shaftesbury's colonial enterprises will seem the newest contribution in the book. It has, at least, one great function, apart from its interest and its value in what we call "American colonial history". It enables us, as it were, to see further around Shaftesbury than we had before; and if we cannot see behind him, that is not the fault of the author but of her materials. For Shaftesbury, though he was a master politician, was also something more. He was an administrator and a statesman of no mean abilities. He was an actor who played many parts, and, in general, with success. One might wish in this connection that his biographer had made a little clearer what the financial situation was from time to time—he might wish it, but it was little clearer then than it is now, and it is possibly unfair to expect a modern writer to unravel the tangled skein of Restoration finances which were beyond the skill of the men of that time. Yet here, unquestionably, lies part of the clue to Restoration politics and its complexities and anomalies.

Finally, if one may be permitted a puzzling question, why make Shaftesbury a conservative? In one sense he was, but only in the sense which Miss Brown stresses to the exclusion of another element. "He believed", she says, "in the society in which he had grown up, in which the members of each class had their rights and their corresponding duties; in which the interests of king, nobles, and people were inextricably interwoven. He believed in the institutions which this interdependence had produced". He believed in "the old landmarks". And yet—and yet—he did his best to break down the strength of monarchy, to make himself the master of affairs, to carry his passion for personal power to the limits of conspiracy and to the edge of revolution. He would apparently have carried it into new civil war if he had had his way. One cannot let Lord Shaftesbury off so easily. His party won; the Stuart cause went down—we must believe rightly, if we accept our present situation and political doctrines. Yet Shaftesbury was no hero even to the Whigs of the eighteenth century. He had in him, perhaps, too much of the conspirator and the demagogue; and, with all of what Miss Brown allots to him, his "wit, charm, firmness, insight, sagacity, physical endurance" and

what she calls with nice restraint "adaptability", the fact remains—he was a demagogue and a conspirator, however good his cause, however it succeeded. His very qualities made him the more dangerous, for they are the very qualities which attracted men; and we hardly need full documentary evidence to understand that could he have overthrown the government of Charles II, he might have been what it was whispered Buckingham aimed at, Protector, or Regent, or Lord President, or something of that sort. There seems no other explanation possible for too many of his actions, documents or no documents. One may not accept Macaulay's dictum that his versatility was the effect of his complete and utter selfishness; but it is hard to escape his conclusion that Shaftesbury had a fierce and earnest ambition, or that he had "served and betrayed a succession of governments". For that fierce, passionate lust for place and power seems, in the last resort, the clue to most of the actions of one who stooped to conquer, but who seemed, especially at the end, to be content with nothing short of mastery of the state.

Harvard University. W. C. Abbott.

Les relations anglo-hollandaises au début du XVIII^e siècle, d'après la correspondance d'Alexandre Stanhope, 1700–1706. Par Gabryelle Van den Haute, licenciée en Sciences historiques. (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire. 1932. Pp. xvi, 379.)

Alexander Stanhope, father of the more famous James, belongs to the class of professional diplomat, who has until now escaped the attention of the historian. He has no separate notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He served his apprenticeship at Madrid, and went to The Hague as envoy extraordinary in 1700. He held this key position in European diplomacy for six years, during which the Dutch capital was a sort of clearing house for London, Paris, and Vienna. Similarly, Amsterdam served as Europe's financial center, through whose bankers friend and foe paid their soldiers.

Anglo-Dutch diplomacy during the first half of the War of the Spanish Succession found the maritime powers leagued with the Emperor against Louis XIV. The negotiations of the naval powers with the Baltic states is interestingly presented—negotiations unusually important because it was at once necessary that the Allies get their naval supplies from thence, and keep Charles XII from supporting France. The diplomatic antecedents of the war are clearly discussed, and show how skillfully Louis XIV labored to sow dissension between the Dutch and the English. Mlle. Van den Haute believes that war might have been averted with both, had he conceded them commercial advantages in Spain and the Indies, which were extensive enough for all (p. 65).

The formation of alliances with Savoy and Portugal is described. The

account of the recruitment of the army of the Grand Alliance in the Germanies is exceedingly satisfactory. The maritime powers were the paymasters of the alliance, but as the war progressed, England shouldered more and more of the burden because of Holland's financial decline. The Emperor was a most troublesome ally. While his demands were excessive, his promises were rarely filled and never on time. He was consistent only in his frequent inconsistencies. Tactful English diplomacy alone kept the Dutch faithful to such an ally. At first the Emperor received loans only through Amsterdam bankers, and when the Dutch would advance no more, London financiers floated another large one to keep the Emperor going. Yet their protests influenced but little any of the Austrian rulers.

The chapter on the commerce of the belligerents is highly informing, throwing into bold relief Anglo-Dutch economic jealousies. Despite England's strenuous representations, the Dutch reluctantly forbade trade with France, and only for a year. Even then, they absolutely refused to forego their accustomed rôle of honest brokers in supplying France with credit to pay her troops in Italy and the Netherlands. When the English insisted, it seemed that the Dutch might desert their allies. England withdrew her objections, and the Dutch traded freely with the enemy, except in what was obviously contraband. Increasingly they neglected their naval obligations in favor of their merchant convoys.

Although Stanhope is the efficient, faithful diplomat, Marlborough emerges as the hero, whose patience and tact are quite as valuable to the Allies as his military genius. Repeatedly he intervenes to end Anglo-Dutch bickerings; he goes to Vienna, to Hanover, to see Charles XII, and miraculously friction ceases in those quarters. Nevertheless, he was constantly handicapped by the Dutch deputies. In 1705 he offered to resign, but his shrewd appeal to the Dutch people gained him a freer hand for the future. Marlborough's rival, Admiral Sir George Rooke, comes in for some severe strictures.

The research upon which this monograph is based, while far from exhaustive, seems adequate. Although utilizing some of the Dutch manuscripts it is surprising that the author has not consulted the Fagel and Heinsius Papers at the Rijksarchief. A study of the admiralty materials in London would have added a sureness of touch. The work under review is a clear, impartial, and valuable contribution to historical knowledge, and we hope the author will continue her labors in this field, and that she may be able to make use of the abundance of pertinent material in the archives of Paris, Vienna, and Madrid. A few slight errors have been noted: 1600 should be 1700 (p. 50); Gallas was an Austrian, not a Savoyard (p. 140), as is made clear elsewhere in the book; Pultowa was fought in 1709, not 1707 (p. 247). The bibliography would be improved by brief annotations.

Indiana University. WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

England under Queen Anne. By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN, O.M., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. Volume III, *The Peace and the Protestant Succession.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1934. Pp. xviii, 383. $6.50.)

WITH "the shout of an immense multitude hailing the successor, and the salvoes of cannon proclaiming the triumph of English liberty, religion and law" (p. 307) Mr. Trevelyan brings to a close his history of the reign of Queen Anne. Then, as if visited by a misgiving lest the Whigs may have triumphed too far in his pages, he adds an epilogue which discusses the character and dimensions of Whig hegemony under the first Hanoverians: the Whigs governed England because the Tories were tainted with Jacobitism; they governed moderately because they were a minority of the ruling class. Thus Whig government, for all its ascendancy, by the quaint paradox of English politics must play Tweedledum to the Tories' Tweedledee. And Tweedledee, when he finally gets in, will display something of the same regard for the susceptibilities of Tweedledum. Though it is true, as Mr. Trevelyan observes, that "Where there are no effective Tories there can be no proper Whigs" (p. 317), it is also true that the two-party system cannot be worked unless there is a family resemblance between the ins and the outs.

It is Mr. Trevelyan's contention that in "those dozen decisive years . . . the stormy and heroic life of Seventeenth Century England . . . was transmuted into the classic calm of Eighteenth Century Britain" (p. vii). "If England between the Revolution and the death of George II had not established the rule of the law of freedom, the England of the Nineteenth Century would have proceeded along the path of change by methods of violence, instead of by Parliamentary modification of the law" (p. 321). The Ifs of history are elusive things that even the wisest historians cannot document. Yet whoever has had the pleasurable experience of reading Mr. Trevelyan's volumes will agree that seldom have twelve years in the history of any nation been so heaped to overflowing with durable success: the brilliant military and diplomatic achievement which imposed a check on the conquering will of France; the rounding out of England's empire and of her commercial supremacy; the Union with Scotland; an equilibrium—lopsided to be sure—between Church and dissenting sects, and the most dangerous fangs of intolerance drawn; equilibrium also between Crown and Parliament, the rock of Jacobitism safely rounded, the elasticity of the constitution demonstrated; emergence of "a highly civilized conception of law" (p. 320); academic and scholastic freedom and the liberty of the press.

In so far as all this ensued from policy, Mr. Trevelyan ascribes it to the policy of Queen Anne, "wisest and most triumphant of her race" (p. 307). The Stuarts were not a wise race, so the point may be yielded. Her statecraft was not of a high order of intelligence; its best trait was the negative

one of an unwillingness to be driven to extremes. On the positive side it embraced many of the prejudices of her people and her time, and succeeded the better for them. In her relations with those who served her she was as callous and ungrateful as any of her family; but this made it possible for her to change her ministers in response to public demand without too much distress to herself. Like all the Stuarts she could be obstinate, which saved her from succumbing too readily to the influence of more brilliant or more calculating minds. Happily for England neither the Duchess of Marlborough, nor the succeeding favorite, Lady Masham, nor any single minister ever dominated the queen's will.

But Mr. Trevelyan recognizes that neither royal nor ministerial policy can be stretched to embrace the accomplishment of these years, and as he is profoundly and wholeheartedly English he assigns the happy outcome to English character and English luck. "Kindly old England has always in the long run revolted against 'fascist' experiments at the permanent suppression of 'the other side' " (p. 96). "The Englishman is famous for forgetting what is best forgot" (p. 161). "The good sense of the English people . . ." (p. 191). "And, by the good luck that so often blessed our history in those days, that part of their purposes which came to fruition was the best" (p. 59). So much that went right in these years did so by a slight and casual margin, while so much that went wrong did so without a complement of disaster, that one may well attribute the good fortune of this nation to the same "good Providence" which bountifully conferred two winning lottery tickets on Lord Hervey (p. 46).

It is difficult to throw off the impression that morally this period was a shabby one: plots and counterplots of ministers; the all-pervading Jacobite treason; the meanness of Anglicans toward Dissenters, and the greater meanness of Englishmen toward Scots and Irish; shady dealings in public money by men in high place; the base betrayal of the Dutch and other allies in the field and at the peace. Marlborough's great generalship, his statesmanship in holding together the Allies, and the wrongs he suffered from the queen and the Tories have won Mr. Trevelyan's warm sympathy, yet there seems to have been a stratum of his character in which he was grasping and dishonorable.

What has been said of the narrative skill and the delightful style of this history in its earlier volumes is true also of this. Mindful of his own strictures on Macaulay, Mr. Trevelyan has given the most painstaking study to character and motives, to both of which he extends a large charity. He is a master of direct and clear exposition of a tangled situation, of effective yet moderate use of quotation, and of shrewd and succinct summary. I do not know of any historian who is Mr. Trevelyan's superior in the technique of his craft or in full and discriminating knowledge of his period. In some of his slighter, as well as his weightier comments he is both witty and acute, as when he says

over the final parting of the queen and the duchess: "If the fault was mostly Sarah's, the tragedy was mostly Anne's" (p. 42). Of the Quebec expedition he observes that as St. John "had chosen the wrong Admiral in Walker . . . it therefore mattered the less that he had also chosen the wrong General in Hill" (p. 144).

Readers who are familiar with the work of English historians of the nineteenth century will notice the close kinship of Mr. Trevelyan's ideal of history to theirs. Like them he finds the dominant interest of a period in its political and military history, and less in economic and social developments than twentieth century historians are apt to do. In historical flavor, therefore, *England under Queen Anne* is somewhat old-fashioned. There will be many to like it the better for that.

Vassar College. VIOLET BARBOUR.

Das Ringen um Frieden und Sicherheit in den Entscheidungsjahren des spanischen Erbfolgekrieges, 1708 bis 1709. Von WERNER REESE. [Münchener historische Abhandlungen.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1933. Pp. xiv, 299. 12 M.)

THIS monograph can best be read in conjunction with the recent study by the late Roderick Geikie on *The Dutch Barrier* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII, 316). Mr. Reese is, of course, more specifically concerned with the breakdown of the peace negotiations between France and the Grand Alliance in 1709, but as with Geikie, the chief interest of his work lies in his examination of the divergent war aims of the Allies.

Geikie, using Dutch sources, was the first to lay adequate emphasis in this connection upon Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the Mediterranean, and on this point Mr. Reese follows him closely. The establishment of the French in Spanish Italy, which would have threatened England's Levant trade, aroused no particular fears in the Dutch. Hence, in all the Franco-Dutch negotiations from 1706 onwards, the Dutch were always willing to see Philip of Anjou retain the Two Sicilies, and Mr. Reese shows that it was only English pressure which compelled Buys, in 1709, to demand that Sicily at least should go to the Hapsburgs. Throughout the war, the Dutch were always suspicious of English plans for conquest in the Mediterranean and the Indies, and their protests irritated even their Whig friends. Unfortunately for the Republic, the campaigns in the Netherlands compelled her to concentrate upon her armies there, and to neglect her fleet, and after the fall of the Whigs in 1710, the very failure to take her share of the operations in Spain and by sea, with which Bolingbroke reproached her, made it impossible for her to prevent the Tories from making such peace terms as to the Mediterranean and the Americas as suited England.

Mr. Reese, using Austrian sources, carries Geikie's conclusions further by

showing that the Mediterranean was also a chief source of Anglo-Austrian differences. He makes it clear that there was a strong school at Vienna, represented by Wratislaw, which favored a policy which was not so much Hapsburg, as specifically Austrian. Wratislaw was relatively indifferent to the fate of the Hapsburg claims upon Spain itself, and believed that Austria should aim at securing the Spanish territories in Italy, and so concentrate Hapsburg power between Vienna and Naples. In making clear this point, Mr. Reese unconsciously helps to explain Tory policy after 1710. For Bolingbroke's cardinal aim in 1711 was to make of Sicily, in the hands of the Duke of Savoy, a base for English Mediterranean power, and for this reason he wished to induce the Emperor to continue the war in Spain. After the death of the Emperor Joseph in April, 1711, Bolingbroke's chief fear was that if Austria once perceived that she was not to get Spain, she would turn to make her own peace with France in return for receiving those Spanish territories in Italy in which he intended to establish the Duke of Savoy. His policy in 1711 was largely determined by the belief that some such intentions were being entertained at Vienna,[1] and Mr. Reese's use of Austrian sources shows that this belief was justified.

In his actual conclusion as to the responsibility for the breakdown of 1709, the author reverts to the view of the older anti-Louis XIV school. Like Geikie, he writes appreciatively of Heinsius, and is critical of Van Goslinga and the pro-Orange, pacifist, and anti-Marlborough party at The Hague. Unlike Geikie, however, he is also critical of Buys, whom he regards as having been narrowly concerned with the interests of the city of Amsterdam.

His bibliography is very full, but in its citation of secondary sources, less discriminating than extensive.

The University of Manitoba. H. N. Fieldhouse.

A History of Modern Culture. By Preserved Smith, Professor of History in Cornell University. Volume II, *The Enlightenment, 1687–1776.* (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1934. Pp. vii, 703. $5.00.)

No fairly alert reader is likely to find a single dull page in this volume. The period it covers in the history of thinking was more lightsome than those which preceded or followed it. "Perspicuity became the queen of literary virtues; clarity, neatness, wit, readability were cultivated." With so much new to think about and so many fresh estimates of old issues, there was no lack of subject matter for agreeably superficial consideration. Pascal declares that the sublime dictators of so much previous belief were but "des gens honnêtes et, comme les autres, riant avec leurs amis". Dr. Smith however

[1] Raby to St. John, May 15/26, 1711, British Museum, Additional MSS., 22,205. Raby to St. John, Apr. 17/28, 1711, F. O., Holland, vol. 239.

warns us that this view of the Enlightenment must be accepted with many reservations. It is not of one piece any more than any other historical period. "The age of reason saw many outbreaks of hysteria. The age of optimism now and then fell into black despair .... Voltaire was deified for writing the *Dictionnaire Philosophique* and La Barre was decapitated for reading it. Rousseau preached a sentimental religion and Dr. Johnson said he ought to be sentenced to penal servitude" (p. 24).

After an introductory chapter, the volume opens with an account of the influence exercised by Newton and Locke and closes on the eve of "the incursions of the idealistic philosophers and the romantic poets". Newton infused into the discussions of the time the impressive idea of universal law, which was congenial to those who resented the traditional appeal to miracles. He himself was however caught in the old meshes, and in a treatise on Daniel and Revelation is quite as assured in his historical application of prophetic symbolism—beasts, wings, smoke, horns—as he is in his immortal *Principia* in dealing with physical laws. Locke invited his readers to deduce philosophic truths from their own daily experiences rather than from heavy metaphysical treatises. Chapters III and IV show how "Linnæan Science" stimulated and contributed to a study of God's works and enlarged the old conceptions of man's world. "Nature" became an ideal, and back to Nature an aspiration. Chapter V takes up the trio of British philosophers together with Leibnitz and the decisive influence of British thought on the French materialists. The chapters following are devoted to revised theories of government and of economic phenomena. The growth of historical criticism and insight is emphasized; as are the appearance of the idea of progress and novel ways of viewing the origin and nature of the Bible and of the classics. Chapters IX and X turn to the "Modern prose style", newspapers and magazines (only at the beginning of their present inordinate inflation), the prose-like poetry of the time, and the flourishing of classical French drama. This is succeeded by the propaganda of the Enlightenment, its dissemination and popularization by the French *philosophes* and the Encyclopedia, and the plans for altering educational methods in the hope of making men reasonable. Three chapters deal with religious changes—the Deists, skepticism, the indications of well-guarded atheism and the accompanying disrepute of ancient superstitions with the waning of organized official persecution. Chapter XVI is headed "Laws, Morals, and Manners" and includes humanitarianism and the revolt against the harsh criminology of the period. Fresh conceptions in painting, architecture, and music form a final chapter of thirty pages.

It is obvious that this volume is mainly a history of thinking—and there is no more significant theme. This kind of history is the chief instrument of personal enlightenment, or better, it might become such, and Professor Smith has made a most important contribution to its advance. As Taine said long

ago the writers of the eighteenth century made their appeal to the *honnête homme,* the intelligent onlooker, of which there are nowadays many more than ever before. The author is an altogether exceptional *honnête homme* himself, and brings light and knowledge to those who desire it but have not the time or equipment for the research open to him. It would have been easy to have been too subtle for the facts, and to have exhibited refinements which may exalt the historian in his own esteem but which serve only to confuse readers and blunt the keenness of their interest. For example the words "law", "reason", "the understanding", "Nature", "cause", all used as defensive weapons against ancient ideas of revelation and miracles have, since the heat of battle has subsided, been subjected to devastating criticism which makes their confident use in the eighteenth century a matter of surprise and mayhap ill-deserved censure to-day. The reader cannot but wonder how the author is going to maintain his integrity and lucidity as he enters the *selva selvaggia ed aspra* of so-called romanticism and endeavors to make plain the technicalities of recent scientific research and psychological analysis. He has in the two volumes which have appeared certainly laid a solid foundation for the succeeding elaborations of thought.

New York City. JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON.

Johnson's England: an Account of the Life and Manners of his Age. Edited by A. S. TURBERVILLE, Professor of Modern History in the University of Leeds. Two volumes. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1933. Pp. xxiii, 405; ix, 404. $14.00.)

THESE two handsome, profusely illustrated volumes contain twenty-seven essays on as many subjects. They are in the manner of the two volumes on *Shakespeare's England,* published in 1916 by the same press. The majority of the authors are among those most competent to write on the topics assigned. The common period of time to which they were limited is the chief bond uniting their work. The editor thinks it "proper to characterize as the Age of Johnson the last fifty years of his lifetime". The publishers say on the jacket that the period covered is "roughly the sixty years between 1730, just before Johnson came to London, and 1790, just after his death, and care has been taken to draw evidence from within these dates, wherever possible, and to avoid describing conditions which, though but slightly earlier or later, would have been unfamiliar to him or his contemporaries". But not all the authors were thus restricted. Mr. Cole, for example, includes in his bibliography Defoe's *Tour* and Cobbett's *Rural Rides.*

Johnson's name in the title doubtless helps to recommend the work to students of literature. All of the chapters are of course appropriate if it was the intention of the editor merely to collect essays by competent authors on

interesting aspects of life in Johnson's time. Even on such a plan some of the omissions and inclusions are not easy to justify. Johnson wrote on politics, but political history is ignored. He made a dictionary, but there is no chapter on the etymologists of his time. He wrote essays, biography, literary criticism; none of these subjects is treated. He contributed to magazines, and that form of periodical was peculiarly a product of his age, but the subject has no place in this work. He also wrote occasional pieces for the newspaper press, and the last chapter in these volumes deals with the Newspaper, perhaps as well as is possible in thirty-six pages where a volume is needed based on a lifetime of study.

Johnson was never a soldier or sailor, but Admiral Richmond writes competently on the Navy; Sir John Fortescue on the Army; Professor Williamson on Exploration and Discovery. Johnson was less concerned with social than literary phenomena. But Mr. Beales writes on Travel and Communications; Mrs. George on London and the Life of the Town; Mr. Cole on Town Life in the Provinces; Mr. Heaton on Industry and Trade; Mr. Orwin on Agriculture and Rural Life; the Hammonds on Poverty, Crime, Philanthropy; Miss Marshall on Manners, Meals, and Domestic Pastimes. Johnson was a friend of artists, but little concerned in the fine arts save literature. There are chapters on Taste; on Painting and Engraving; on Sculpture; on Architecture and the Garden; on the Interior of the House; on the Drama and the Theatre; on Music. The chapters on Education, Schools, and Universities; on Science, Mathematics, and Astronomy; on Medicine; on the Law and the Lawyers seem as little pertinent with Johnson as the central figure of his time. However, the last chapter but one, Dr. Chapman's on Authors and Booksellers, is appropriate enough.

Published under auspices so respectable, supported by an imposing array of names, readers may be tempted to regard this work as history and thus like history less. Due to the manner of its composition, it contains only select fragments of materials from which history might be made. Readers interested in the special subjects on which these authors write will prefer to consult the larger works which qualified them for partnership in this venture. Those seeking a connected history of an interesting time will find here a lack of coherence, of unity in concept and plan, of sure guidance through the changes of the time, of awareness in some cases that the time witnessed change.

These faults are no reflection on the work of Mr. Turberville as editor or on the capacity of the authors he selected to write. They merely indicate again that a task requiring the skill of a single hand, the insight of a mind that has meditated for years, is not easily farmed out as a coöperative enterprise to a score of experts in special fields.

Duke University. W. T. Laprade.

England und der Aufstieg Russlands: Zur Frage des Zusammenhanges der europäischen Staaten und ihres Ausgreifens in die aussereuropäische Welt in Politik und Wirtschaft des 18. Jahrhunderts. Von DIETRICH GERHARD. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1933. Pp. 436. 16.80 M.)

THIS distinguished work of pioneering attempts, and successfully, to enlarge a problem of diplomatic to "geopolitical" history, although that much abused word appears nowhere in it. For the author, the relations of the two great flanking powers of Europe fall into two chief periods, with the opening of the Black Sea in 1774 as the turning point. For the earlier period he analyzes with great skill the economic and political connection between Russia and England, tracing not merely its formal development, but the influence of their commerce within each of the two countries. From the opening of the Black Sea, however, Russia strove to emancipate herself from dependence on English commercial enterprise and capital. From this point of view the Armed Neutrality of 1780 is seen as an important step toward economic autonomy. The attitudes of England and France toward Catherine's annexation of the Crimea gave a fresh proof of Russia's evolution away from England. With the outbreak of a new Russo-Turkish War in 1787 English interest was drawn to Turkey and Sweden, despite general indifference for Continental affairs in Parliament and out. After saving Sweden from Danish attack during the former's war with Russia, English attention was drawn to the question of Poland. England's demand for the preservation of the *status quo* in Turkey, in other words, for Russia's renunciation of the Ochakov region, was dictated not only by the desire to maintain Turkish strength in the Black Sea and Straits area, but also by the thought of preventing Russian encirclement of Poland from both flanks. The idea of an Anglo-Prussian interference on behalf of both Poland and Turkey arose simultaneously with the idea of developing Poland as an alternative sphere of English trade in order to remove a dangerous and one-sided dependence on Russia for ships' stores. Opinion within and without Parliament was not capable of understanding these far-reaching purposes of Pitt's Russian Armament, and the project was abandoned. With it disappeared the Anglo-Prussian alliance, and the way was open for the second partition of Poland. During this struggle, however, the Northeast and Southeast in European policy had been considerably fused. As compared with the beginning of the eighteenth century the "Northern System" had ceased to possess independent significance, while the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea, with adjacent routes and areas, had risen to first-class importance. The stage was set for the dramatic events to be provoked by Napoleon's Mediterranean and Eastern policy.

This work, of an unusual breadth of vision, is based on a painstaking

study of the English archives, especially for the period 1774–1792. Dr. Gerhard has also utilized with advantage a vast amount of little known contemporary literature. The student of the European states' system as a whole and of the Near Eastern problem in particular will need to consult this valuable study, of which it is difficult not to write in superlatives.

Union College. PHILIP E. MOSELY.

Egypt since Cromer. By Lord LLOYD. Volume I. (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xi, 390. 2 Maps. $5.50.)

LORD Lloyd writes of that period in Egyptian history bounded by the reign of Lord Cromer on the one hand and that of Ahmed Fuad I on the other, a period in which political problems were generally of greater consequence than material ones. His book reaches far beyond its professed purpose of supplying a sequel to Cromer's own significant *Modern Egypt.* Lord Cromer's work was confined largely to the events of his own administration and constituted a kind of self portrait. Lord Lloyd has taken full advantage of his own unique position to view both Cromer and his earlier successors in perspective. In so doing he has produced a remarkable piece of historical writing, which, in making clear the character and consequences of one notable instance of European penetration into non-European lands, unconsciously points many a moral in the whole broad field of modern imperialism. It is the kind of book that comes rarely to light when ripe experience and penetrating insight combine with a deep sense of responsibility to arrive at fundamental truths.

Lord Cromer having been essentially the second founder of modern Egypt, as Mohammed Ali Pasha was the first, the author very properly devotes a fairly considerable space at the outset to an analysis of his aims, accomplishments, and shortcomings as a basis for a treatment of the following years, and notwithstanding the title of the book, might have spared his apology (p. 117) for reverting so frequently to the Cromer period. Cromer's work in Egypt Lord Lloyd regards as essentially sound if not always farsighted. Circumscribed by the pronouncement of the British government of the temporary nature of the occupation, by the Capitulations, and by the vagaries of the mixed Egyptian population, he believes that Lord Cromer could hardly have pursued a more consistent or constructive program. The author's belief is well founded that Cromer's principal weakness lay in his faith in the alchemy of popular education and government, upon which the great proconsul apparently relied for the growth of Egyptian confidence in the British régime.

Lord Lloyd's own critical position is suggested in his conclusion (p. 361) that, to a much greater extent than any other colonizing nation, the British

have added to their feeling of responsibility for the welfare of their subjects the ideal of evolution toward self-government and ultimate political independence, and that great danger has lain not in any lack of sympathy for premature political hopes but in the likelihood that in their eagerness to satisfy these hopes the British might be forgetful of their administrative responsibilities. By the extent to which they were forgetful of these responsibilities, Lord Lloyd criticizes those in whose hands lay the reins of power in Egypt between Lord Cromer's retirement in 1907 and the close of the World War. They have not fared well in the analysis. Sir Eldon Gorst is delineated as an administrator who sympathized with the Egyptians while he vainly sacrificed their real needs to political exigencies. Yet Lord Lloyd deplores his untimely death, for worse was to come. He finds little to condone in Kitchener's administration, which suffered from those very traits which made him outstanding as a soldier. Nevertheless, his was a time of material prosperity, partly due to the transition from the old basin system to the new perpetual system of irrigation, the unfortunate post-War effects of which are not treated in this volume.

Lord Lloyd has nothing but condemnation for British policy in Egypt during the War period. It is not that he doubts the nature of British military necessity or believes that disadvantages to neutral Egypt could have been wholly avoided. However, he can only deplore the clumsiness with which Egypt was declared a protectorate and the almost total neglect of Egyptian sensibilities thereafter. The promise to Egypt of immunity from the War when the engagement obviously could not be kept he regards as the foundation of all later difficulties. Saad Zaghlul, who had learned "how much easier and more pleasant it is to soar aloft in the comfortable elevator of destructive criticism than to climb the steep stairs of constructive effort", and British official neglect of the War years share the responsibility in this work for the undoing of a generation of laborious accomplishment. The author, therefore, is not surprised at the storm which broke immediately after the Armistice, although he is shocked at the incapacity of Allenby, even though he knew nothing of Egypt. Lord Lloyd has only bitter words for that truckling to the extremists in 1919, which "betrayed" both the Egyptians and the British who had given their lives for the welfare of Egypt.

Although many of his own experiences in Egypt were such as might have created a distinct bias, Lord Lloyd everywhere writes with much reason and restraint and with both vigor and dispassionateness. To a less extent than Cromer does he assume the innate righteousness of the British cause in Egypt. He deplores Britain's failure to annex Egypt in 1914 or in 1917 and Allenby's "surrender of 1919" on purely practical grounds, and he harbors no bitterness because of the almost total absence of Egyptian gratitude for constructive British endeavors. Only rarely does the national background of the man

elude his vigilance as historian and cause him to describe the "true Egyptian" as one who believed in the British connection (p. 51) or to refer to Great Britain in 1913 as the "mother country" of the Sudan (p. 332).

Aside from the fact that it is unnecessarily repetitive in a few places, the book is well constructed and excellently written. Without any conscious striving for effect, the author's very earnestness gives a real eloquence to his theme. A few appendixes containing the texts of significant documents and a genealogical table of the family of Mohammed Ali amplify the text, and the two maps at the end of the volume are illuminating.

Tufts College. HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Historic House Museums. By LAURENCE VAIL COLEMAN, Director of the American Association of Museums. (Washington: American Association of Museums. 1933. Pp. xii, 187. $2.50.)

ARCHÆOLOGY is not only the detective that assembles material evidence for history, it is also the publicist of the past. To many, a hat, a cloak, a broken chair speak more vividly of a bygone personality than any amount of state papers or memoirs. It is this second rôle of archæology that gives importance to the historical museum as opposed to the archæological museum. Snuff-boxes, shoe buckles, cups and saucers, are meager source material for the historian, but they provide the human interest that "sells" history to the public. And the public loves it, for by it there is established a personal contact with the past. To see a man's glove is next thing to shaking his hand, and every politician knows how much more potent a handshake is than a state paper. The American people seem peculiarly given to this emotional form of historical interest. It is a trait that is growing upon us, due perhaps to foreign travel; at any rate, it is certain that we have a passionate craving for historic "shrines" not to be equaled elsewhere in the world. Authentic historicity seems to matter little so long as the desired semi-religious thrill is had.

Fortunately the historical museum that produces the strongest reaction is one which in itself speaks of the personality or event we wish to venerate. The birthplace of some great one, his dwelling, or some house associated with battlefield or treaty conference, these are far more potent than museums newly built to house diverse historical exhibits. This is fortunate, I say, for it results in the preservation of large numbers of old houses, of great value as archæological evidence regardless of their fortuitous associations, and often of considerable architectural distinction. Thus, while in 1895 there were only about twenty such houses open to the public, in 1910 there were nearly a hundred, and to-day more than four hundred historic houses permanently saved from the normal destruction a growing society entails.

These historic house museums present many new and peculiar problems. They are primarily archæological exhibits, but they also function as museums. They may or may not be open all the year round, may or may not serve as dwellings for the curatorial staff, and may or may not depend on service of refreshments or other entertainment for balancing the budget. Some are state or national monuments, some supported by historical societies, some by simple *ad hoc* organizations.

A wide field and various, its rapidly growing interest commands the attention of historians and museum managers alike. It has now called forth an extensive survey at the hands of Laurence Coleman, director of the American Association of Museums. With much experience in preparing survey volumes of the sort, Mr. Coleman has developed a most commendable method of procedure. He has personally visited the major part of the historic house museums scattered throughout the country, and collected a mass of first-hand information. This he has digested and now presents in orderly fashion with running commentary of criticism and suggestion. The first part of the book is devoted to the history of the movement, the second to the various methods employed in organization and administration of historic houses, and the third to a consideration of possible future developments. Added to this are a directory of some 400 historic house museums arranged by states, a bibliography, and an index as full as could be desired, very intelligently compiled.

It is hard to speak too highly of this work; in ten years, if the rate of growth of the movement continues, it may have to be all done over, but for the present it is a complete vade mecum.

The Library of Congress. LEICESTER B. HOLLAND.

Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630–1650: a Genetic Study. By PERRY MILLER. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1933. Pp. xvi, 353. $3.50.)

HISTORIANS who have discussed the origins of the New England system of church government have strangely neglected the writings of its most authoritative contemporary exponent, John Cotton. One group, following H. M. Dexter, have attributed it to the influence of the Brownists, ignoring the fact that the New England leaders always regarded "separatism" with horror. Another point of view, originally expressed by the Presbyterian Robert Baillie and recently revived by Professor Morison in his *Builders of the Bay Colony,* is that the Puritans underwent a sea change while crossing the Atlantic and only evolved their theories of church government after arriving in New England and under the influence of the Plymouth Pilgrims. Cotton, however, expressly stated that the authors of the "New England Way" were a group of men, headed by William Ames, who never left Europe, and that the New England clergy had been "studious of that way" before the migration.

Orthodoxy in Massachusetts is an examination of the origins of the "New England Way". With a wealth of quotations and with considerable charm of style, Dr. Miller shows how its essential principles had been elaborated before the migration. He sheds new light on the founding of New England by showing that the Congregationalists could reconcile their theories of church government with their disapproval of separatism only by migrating to a country where they would have control of both church and state, and by proving that the group which planned the migration included almost all the Congregationalist leaders. He traces the modifications in Congregationalism which were necessitated by its transformation from a persecuted sect into a state church, and explains how, during the Civil War, those members of the group who had remained in Europe adopted theories of religious toleration which alienated them from their New England brethren. This is a book of fundamental importance for the understanding of New England Puritanism. It supersedes everything else which has been written about its ecclesiastical system.

The defects of Dr. Miller's book are due chiefly to the limitations which he has imposed upon himself. He ignores both the theology of Puritanism and its social and economic background. He is content to show *how* Congregationalism differed from the other sects, without attempting to explain *why*. The controversy is treated as a dispute about the correct interpretation of Scripture. If Dr. Miller had extended his field of study, he might have given a more accurate analysis of the differences between Puritanism and Anglicanism. Both parties, he declares, believed in the royal supremacy and in the union of church and state; they differed merely in the kind of church which they wished to establish. In reality the differences were more fundamental. The Anglicans were Erastians. Archbishop Whitgift could see "no such distinction of the commonwealth and the church that they should be counted, as it were, two separate bodies"; the head of the state should be the head of the church, and ecclesiastical officers might perform political functions. For the Puritans, on the other hand, church and state were two distinct bodies, and though each derived its authority from God, the church, through its power to interpret Scripture, was virtually the superior. As Travers explains, "huic (*i.e.*, the minister of the church) enim omnes orbis Principes et Monarchae fasces suos submittere et parere decet". It was this insistance on ministerial supremacy which compelled the monarchy to ally itself with the bishops and which made Calvinism, wherever it flourished, the spearhead of political and social revolution.

New York University. H. B. Parkes.

Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1671–1680. Two parts. [The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volumes XXIX, XXX, Collec-

tions.] (Boston: the Society. 1933. Pp. xciv, 562; viii, 563–1233. $10.00.)

In editing the two volumes of records of the Suffolk County court, Professors Samuel Eliot Morison and Zechariah Chafee have made a contribution of the first importance to the legal history of the seventeenth century. The court records, the property of the Boston Athenæum, have been supplemented by summaries, extracts, and in many cases full copies of the papers now in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court of the County of Suffolk. Valuable notes on the legal and social implications of the more important cases have been contributed by the editors and a thorough and scholarly introduction providing the historical background of the court and analyzing the content of the volumes from the point of view of the legal historian has been furnished by Mr. Chafee.

The Suffolk court was an inferior quarterly court, combining a criminal jurisdiction analogous to that of quarter sessions in England and a civil jurisdiction in many ways similar to that of a mayor's or recorder's court in the mother country. As in certain English borough courts, admiralty and maritime matters were litigated—although the county court was reluctant to deal with such topics after the General Court had established a court of admiralty (p. 364)—and equitable jurisdiction was frequently exercised. One trait the residents of Boston and surrounding towns shared with inhabitants of other colonies generally. They were unusually litigious. Eleven hundred and seventy-one closely-printed pages are needed to cover litigation extending over a brief period of ten years and relating to a group of communities with a total population somewhere between seven and ten thousand. Commercial and maritime litigation occurred more frequently here than in the quarterly court of Essex County; agrarian problems, such as actions to recover damages for trespass by cattle, seldom arose. The records do not offer much that would change prevailing conceptions of Massachusetts colonial law relating to persons, sexual morality, or government regulation of industry, all of which were abundantly exemplified in the pioneer collection of Essex court records edited by Mr. George F. Dow.

In examining the sources of Massachusetts law before 1700 Mr. Chafee prudently steers a middle course between the position of Reinsch and Hilkey of the superior authority of the Scriptural law and the view advanced by Francis C. Gray and more recently Theodore Plucknett that this Biblical influence has been greatly exaggerated. It is submitted, however, that definitive conclusions cannot be drawn from the records of a court which did not have jurisdiction in capital cases or in divorce, in both of which Pentateuchal precedent was determining. Within these pages citations from the Bible are by no means infrequent. In matters of evidence, inheritance (in which the Bible seemed far more persuasive than the precedents of Westminster),

and usury resort was had to Scripture. Mr. Chafee maintains that since about half the litigants who relied on Scriptural quotations lost their cases, serious doubt is thrown upon the authoritative force of the Bible as law. Since, of the remaining litigants who relied upon common law and custom, a large proportion also lost their cases, similarly invalid conclusions might be drawn. In Holowell *v.* Butler (pp. 1034, 1037) a claimant to decedent's property successfully relied on the rules of inheritance laid down in the Book of Numbers. The appellant pointed to the dangers of a consistent position, as Numbers provided that every fifty years there was to be a complete redistribution of the land. But the courts had no intention of upsetting all land titles. They viewed the Bible with a very discriminating eye and were not carried away by the pious hopes embodied in John Cotton's proposed code. In the highly complex commercial and maritime litigation with which the Suffolk court dealt, the precedents of English central courts, the practice of the boroughs, and international law merchant were controlling.

In the reproduction of these records, the editors have set a high standard of accuracy and fidelity to the text; but as long as *nn* and *per* are used instead of the customary shorthand contractions, there seems to be no reason why y^e and similar abbreviations should not likewise have been spelled out as they would have been in a contemporary printing. The reproduction of the double-looped *I* as *J* merely serves to confuse the reader, as in "Jsaac" (p. 273), "Joseph Jndian" (p. 485), and many other places. It is a joy to work with the careful index which has been provided.

The College of the City of New York. RICHARD B. MORRIS.

Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695–1729. Edited by CARROLL T. BOND, Chief Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals, with the collaboration of RICHARD B. MORRIS, Assistant Professor of History in the College of the City of New York. [American Legal Records, Vol. I. Edited for the American Historical Association by the Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.] Washington: The American Historical Association. 1933. Pp. li, 673. $7.50.)

THERE are now available in printed form five volumes of proceedings of higher courts in Maryland during the colonial period. Four volumes contain the proceedings of the provincial court and are published as volumes 4, 10, 41, and 49 of the Archives and give a fairly complete picture of the development of that court from 1637 to 1666 and of the growth of the law in the colony during that period, as far as this court of general jurisdiction is concerned. In addition to this there are Proceedings of the governor and council on review cases scattered through the records of the provincial and chancery courts and those of the administrative and legislative sessions of the council. The present volume, the first of a series to be known as "American

Legal Records", gives the historian a view of the proceedings of a court of last resort in one of the colonies during the close of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century. With this volume, too, begins the first separate record of the proceedings of the Court of Appeals and it is a record of especial value because it is the only one except a few scattered cases in manuscript between 1749 and 1755. Even in the periods covered by the publications mentioned above there is still a large amount of manuscript material and a much greater amount in the periods in which little publishing work has thus far been done.

The volume embodies the record of eighty-six cases. A study of these cases reveals a number of especial legal and social interest. For example, in Macnemara *v.* Her Majesty (p. 156) where the accused was found guilty of "chance medley" on an indictment for murder, the right of benefit of clergy was granted, but the court failed to discharge the defendant, an appeal was taken to the higher court where this was found to be error and it was ordered that the appellant be restored to whatever he had lost by such error and that he be relieved from further prosecution. The right of benefit of clergy was frequently recognized in the colonies. One of the common proceedings in colonial days was also award in criminal cases of compensation to the party injured as a part of the penalty imposed on the accused.

Controversies over ownership of land are of unusual significance because of the economic relation of land to colonial life. The present volume contains a number of enlightening cases in this field of litigation. Common recovery to bar entail estate was resorted to in Dorrington and Hooper *v.* Ennalls (p. 282). Suits over either titles or boundary lines show considerable development in this kind of procedure. While the form of action was confused, being entitled "trespass and ejectment", the early part of the period covered in the volume shows the transition, in case of disputes over boundary lines, from a resurvey under the direction of a jury of twelve men to a survey made under a commission issued to three persons who were directed to see that the boundary lines were properly run and finally to the method of directing the royal surveyors only to make the resurvey. These three methods are illustrated respectively by Grundy *v.* Rhodes (p. 74), Alderne *v.* Seserson (p. 87), and Merekin's Lessee *v.* Heath (p. 102).

The chancery appeal cases while few in number show a much wider chancery jurisdiction than was permitted in some of the other colonies. This is probably due to the influence of the proprietary form of government which prevailed in Maryland during this period. In Massachusetts during the same period chancery jurisdiction was very limited, being confined principally to its exercise by the common law courts in chancering the penalties of bonds, rendering conditional judgments in suits upon mortgages, and decreeing redemption of mortgaged realty upon performance of conditions. This

limited jurisdiction in the latter province seems to have had considerable influence in the commonwealth after the American Revolution.

A large amount of space in the latter half of the volume is taken up by controversies growing out of a dispute over a charter party. In the case which involved Jonathan Forward, a London merchant, and Gilbert Powlson, master of the ship *Dolphin,* there arose eight original suits, seven appeals to the province court of appeals, and five appeals to the king in council. This portion of the records is quite instructive in showing the working of appeals to the king in council and also the extent to which litigation could be prolonged on various pretexts in colonial days. The limit of final determination was measured largely by the resources and tenacity of the parties. Here, however, was laid the foundation of judge-made law in America.

The editor's introduction contains a very good summary of the wider lines of development in the province of Maryland especially with reference to legal institutions and court procedure. The period covered is not limited to this volume of records, but an effort is made to indicate the process of growth from the beginning of the province to the close of these appeal proceedings. In comparing Maryland with a New England colony, Massachusetts, one is impressed by certain features of similarity and also certain striking contrasts. The manuscript of this volume covers over 800 pages. The records of the highest appeal court in the province of Massachusetts during the same period extend through approximately six volumes of manuscript and the collateral files of papers comprise approximately 180 volumes. However, the superior court in Massachusetts in addition to appeal jurisdiction also exercised original jurisdiction in certain civil and criminal cases, so that to this extent its business would coincide partly with that of the provincial court of Maryland. The method of determining cases in the superior court differed from that of the court of appeals of Maryland. In the latter court appeals were decided by the judges while in the former they were passed upon by juries. Upon reversal in the court of appeals in Maryland, no new trial was granted. The plaintiff was required to bring a new suit if he desired to continue the litigation. In Massachusetts, since the superior court acquired jurisdiction of appeal cases as proceedings *de novo,* such cases were disposed of finally in that court.

In neither Maryland nor Massachusetts was there a professionally trained bar during the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century. However, in both colonies there were certain members of the various communities who were more skillful than their neighbors in conducting legal business especially before the courts, and these persons, usually merchants or business men, were called upon from time to time to act as attorneys. Such persons were appointed by letters of attorney which they presented before they were permitted to act for their clients or principals. The distinction between

attorneys at law and attorneys in fact was not then understood and the requirement of such authorization continued for some time. In Massachusetts, under the administration of Joseph Dudley, a beginning was made to establish a professional class of attorneys by limiting practice before the courts to those who were "*allowed* and *sworn Attournyes* by the Council and County Courts". During the same year, 1686, an oath was provided for attorneys. In the provincial period, a similar oath was prescribed in 1701 and in 1708 the number of attorneys permitted a litigant was limited to two and service on the part of the remaining attorneys, when requested by the other party, was made obligatory.

The present volume is a valuable addition to the source material now available on colonial law. The editorial work is well done and the editor should be commended especially on his adherence to the form of the original manuscript as nearly as the printed page can approximate it. If American legal history is to be written, the investigator must reproduce in both substance and form as nearly as possible the atmosphere of the colonial period, for otherwise the old procedure and legal doctrines will not be easily understood. This publication is another step along the trail which both social and legal historians in America have hoped would be blazed. The late Professor Osgood, an eminent scholar, regretted that he was compelled to resort to generalities in discussing the transfer of English law to the American colonies and Professor Plucknett recently said, "American Legal History is a field of enormous extent and extraordinary intererst, but it still awaits its pioneers". By the publication of this volume the American Historical Association has made a worthy beginning on the project designed to fill this need.

Emory University. C. J. Hilkey.

A Short History of Georgia. By E. Merton Coulter. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1933. Pp. xiii, 457. $3.50.)

A History of West Virginia. By Charles Henry Ambler, Ph.D., Professor of History, West Virginia University.

A History of Ohio. By Eugene Holloway Roseboom, Ph.D., and Francis Phelps Weisenburger, Ph.D., Assistant Professors of History, The Ohio State University. [Prentice-Hall History Series. Carl Wittke, Editor.] (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1933; 1934. Pp. xvi, 622; xiii, 545. $4.00; $5.00.)

These books are of importance and value for the student of state history as they offer contributions in a field not yet adequately covered. The writers accept the thesis that the historian must run the whole gamut of human interest and activity. The absence of footnote citation of authorities, except in the study of West Virginia and that is not heavily documented, and the

presence of a selected rather than exhaustive bibliography indicate that these books are intended primarily for the general reader. The division headings within the chapters in the two volumes published by Prentice-Hall may have been inspired by the hope of classroom use but will undoubtedly be welcomed by the lay reader.

Professor Coulter has rendered a service to those interested in the local history of Georgia. He has not been inattentive to the European background (enthusiasm for new ventures, pp. 14–19, War of Jenkins' Ear, pp. 41–42), and he does not neglect the interplay of national events upon the development of Georgia, though such relation is not allowed to absorb undue space. The proportions are good until after the Reconstruction Period, when the treatment becomes, at best, summary. The book is copiously illustrated with pictures of leaders in Georgia history. Several maps and charts serve to clarify the text, though the absence of a detailed map of Georgia is to be deplored.

Dr. Roseboom and Dr. Weisenburger have presented in a brief, one-volume work a comprehensive, scholarly survey of the development of Ohio in an easy, readable style. While the handling of some phases is so summary as to be justifiable only on the assumption that they are introduced solely for background (pp. 31–37), the handling of state events is wholly adequate, and the occasional introduction of incidents probably little known to the lay reader enlivens the narrative (see pp. 53, 63). Throughout, the reader feels that the authors have a good grasp of the political figures and events which crowd Ohio history. The authors do not fail, as do Professors Coulter and Ambler, to insert a large, colored map of the state in addition to a number of black and white maps.

Professor Ambler has sifted and digested a wide range of material from which he has produced a thorough, comprehensive history of West Virginia. The author attempts even more than his title demands, for Part I is really a history of Virginia, justifiable perhaps as the necessary background for Part II, the history of West Virginia. As might be expected from the author of *Sectionalism in Virginia,* chapters XV to XVII are especially well done. There is considerable recurrence to certain subjects, such as education and transportation, which might have been avoided if a strictly chronological handling had not been adhered to. The style, while generally pleasing, frequently falls into catalogue-like enumeration of details (pp. 166–167, 190, 211, 246, 285). On the other hand, the introductory chapter, giving the geographical setting, avoids successfully a Baedeker-like description. One approves the generous use of illustrations without being able to welcome mere scenic views in a sober work of history.

Goucher College. ELLA LONN.

George Washington Himself: a Common-Sense Biography written from his Manuscripts. By JOHN C. FITZPATRICK, L.H.D., Litt.D., Editor, United States Bicentennial Commission Edition of *The Writings of George Washington.* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1933. Pp. xiii, 544. $3.50.)

Private Affairs of George Washington from the Records and Accounts of Tobias Lear, Esquire, his Secretary. By STEPHEN DECATUR, JR. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1933. Pp. xvi, 357. $5.00.)

A biography of George Washington by Mr. Fitzpatrick cannot fail to be significant. The author's prolonged custodianship of the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress, and his contributions as an editor of Washingtoniana now culminating in the Bicentennial edition of the *Writings,* authorized by Congress, establish him as an authority. The anticipation of authority is confirmed by his cleaving constantly to Washington's own writings. Only one or two preceding biographies have followed this method so consistently and the present work surpasses all others in the citation of letters not previously in print, an advantage incident to the author's long familiarity with the manuscripts, and utilized effectively.

The title chosen does not suffer from excessive modesty, and is a challenge to the critic if not to the general reader. "Common-Sense" would be employed more happily upon the jacket than upon the title-page. "Himself" would benefit from a wider range of sources, particularly as the crown of his career, from 1785 to 1797, is treated rather sketchily. A more limited title, such as Washington in War, or Washington to 1783, would have disarmed this type of criticism. The author betrays a personal resentment at even the faintest symptom of debunkery. Particularly would he scotch any Sally Fairfax myth. His defense of Washington against the admissions of Washington's own pen in this regard is very clever, but results in undue emphasis upon what most people would probably regard as a natural infatuation, and no major crime even in the very honorable circles of Colonial Virginia. Almost we are persuaded "he doth protest too much".

Of Washington's political and military reputation the author is properly most jealous. He finds the attitude of John Adams implicit in the Conway Cabal itself. Indeed the chapter on the cabal is a striking demonstration that the military rivalries of aspiring generals were subordinate to political rivalries in the Congress. Here is one of the major contributions of the present life. With equal energy the author defends the military judgment of George Washington, at Boston, on Long Island, and elsewhere, from the attacks of armchair theorists. He also takes delight in refuting the reflections of Charles Francis Adams, jr., on the General's supposedly inadequate use of cavalry. In short the Adamses find little favor, as witness the "vicious

criticism by a great-grandson of a man whose egotism bequeathed to his descendants a blind prejudice against Washington".

Glossing over Washington's limitations as a politician and his failure to comprehend the inevitability of politics, the author censures Thomas Jefferson with all the harshness of a partisan. The biographer becomes the ardent champion. Washington did have some limitations. He was more the statesman than the politician.

But these are minor blemishes in a work of major excellence, sound in learning, and enlivened with zeal and warmth. The author knows his Washington, and knowing him he loves him. Perhaps he is correct and we really have "George Washington himself".

A style otherwise direct and forceful is occasionally marred by lapses which have escaped the attention of the proof reader. Examples are to be found on pages 66, 133, 198–199, 399, 405, 484, 487, 503.

More a source book than a narrative, "Private Affairs" is a unique contribution to our knowledge of the personal life of Washington. Based on the family papers of the author, who is a collateral descendant of Tobias Lear, for many years the private secretary of George Washington, the volume derives its value from its source and from its editing, which is indeed meticulous. As a source book, the volume is largely an expense account covering the most intimate outlays of the household and shedding light upon the character of those whose expenses are recorded. Generosity and open-handedness are continually in evidence. Editorially, the author elaborates upon the significance of various items with a minute and loving knowledge of eighteenth century ways.

The close connection between Lear and Martha Washington—his second and third wives were both her nieces—is no doubt responsible for several previously unpublished letters, the more valuable because so little of her correspondence is now extant. Light is also shed on whether the President ever overdrew his salary balance—a question which led at one time to unpleasant charges. But space precludes a summary of contents rich on every page.

In brief the volumes here considered are each a welcome contribution to Washingtoniana.

Purdue University. Louis Martin Sears.

Republican Religion: the American Revolution and the Cult of Reason. By G. Adolf Koch, Ph.D. [American Religion Series, VII.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1933. Pp. xvi, 334. $3.00.)

The subject selected by Mr. Koch for his dissertation has been so little studied that it would be manifestly unfair to be too severe to his praiseworthy efforts to explore hitherto neglected fields and to call attention to a most

interesting aspect of the development of religious thought in America during the Revolutionary period and the first decade of the nineteenth century. After the short essay of Van Bacelaere on *La philosophie en Amérique* (New York, 1904) and the well-documented dissertation of Bernard Faÿ on *L'esprit révolutionnaire en France et en Amérique* (Paris, 1925; New York, 1927), it remained to determine the influence exerted by the growth of religious liberalism, deism, and freethinking on the political and social thought of the period. From sermons, religious tracts, and abstruse theological works which few historians would have the time and industry to read and analyze, Mr. Koch has reconstituted in a very acceptable way the history of theological controversies which in their days exerted an undoubted repercussion on political events and were passionately entered upon by the men who founded the nation. His essay on Ethan Allen and the following chapters which deal mainly with the picturesque and troubled career of Elihu Palmer deserve careful attention and constitute really the core of the book. On several points however one might easily object to the generalizations of the author, or more exactly criticize him for accepting without due scrutiny statements often repeated and generally accepted but based upon very slim evidence. Such is for instance the affirmation that "the association of American militiamen with British soldiers and later with the French during the Revolution brought the common man into contact with English deism and French scepticism", which appears in two significant places (pp. 23 and 286). It would take much more than the amusing and unconvincing anecdote about General von Steuben related by Mr. Koch after M. Bernard Faÿ to demonstrate this supposed influence satisfactorily. One might also wonder why the author while attributing to the French philosophers an importance probably exaggerated in the history of this movement, deliberately ignores the French origins of theophilanthropy (ch. VI). That the names of Voltaire and Rousseau were hurled back and forth during the religious strife that took place after the Revolution is a well-known fact; but that they were much more than names for the majority of the controversialists is very improbable. A more obvious and more serious defect lies in the organization of the material. The first four chapters follow a fairly chronological order. They deal with political freedom and freedom of thought from the sermon of John Robinson to the Pilgrims on the eve of their departure from Leiden to the early days of the Revolution, and with the sketches of Ethan Allen, Elihu Palmer, and their sectaries including the "Society of the Ancient Druids". Then curiously enough comes a chapter artlessly entitled "Other Prophets", in which such minor characters as John Foster and John Stewart are associated with Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, who certainly would not have been considered by their contemporaries as minor prophets. No less objectionable is the arrangement of the seventh chapter on "Respectable

Deists", which takes us back to the colonial period with a sermon of Ebenezer Gay dated 1746, Charles Chauncey, and Jonathan Mayhew, and yet deals also in conclusion with Priestley.

The Johns Hopkins University. GILBERT CHINARD.

Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America. Edited by HUNTER MILLER. Volume III., *Documents 41–79: 1819–1835.* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1933. Pp. xxiv, 833. $5.00.)

THE third volume of this noteworthy publication is even more valuable than the second which began the series of texts and notes. The reason and justification for the preparation and publication of this set was the much-needed reproduction with meticulous fidelity of the hitherto carelessly printed texts of treaties "and other international acts" of the United States in a definitive edition, chronologically arranged, to which supplementary volumes could be added methodically for future treaties. As noted in our review of the previous volumes, the texts are printed in the several languages in which they were signed; in the case of the treaty with Siam of 1833, in English, Siamese, Portuguese, and Chinese. As the publication progresses the notes of the editor add in an extraordinary way to the value of the work and understanding of the texts.

Of the thirty-nine documents reproduced in this volume, twenty-nine are treaties or conventions ratified by the Senate; the others, except one declaration, are executive agreements, mostly for the settlement of claims, and principally for the settlement of claims held by citizens of the United States—there are many fewer claims held by foreign subjects against the United States. It is instructive to note what a volume of international business has been settled by agreement short of treaties—we conjecture that the volume has grown proportionately since 1835—agreements of such importance that they have to be classed along with treaties. Some of these documents have rather escaped the attention of historians, for example, the articles "arranged" with Tahiti and with Hawaii in 1826, and the agreement with Portugal of 1832 for the settlement of claims.

The editor's notes give a careful and methodical description of the character and markings of the original manuscripts, papers in the treaty files, full powers, ratifications and exchanges of ratifications, seals, signatures, the *alternat,* and distinctive features of each treaty. Properly nothing is said in the way of interpretation or of historical significance. The editor limits himself to the presentation of complete information. For some of the treaties, Spain (1819), Great Britain (1827), Brazil (agreement of 1829), but very curiously not France (1831), the notes are unusually full. The description of the British treaty of 1827 is a long dissertation—in which the editor

utilizes (with full credit) the cartographical erudition of Colonel Lawrence Martin concerning Mitchell's famous Map of North America of 1755 and its different editions and impressions. The editor's very positive statement (p. 349) that the "King George" copy of Mitchell "was certainly used in London during the peace negotiations of 1782" can at least be disputed. In a pocket is a facsimile of the famous Steuben-Webster copy of Mitchell, supporting the British claim in the northeast boundary dispute, which Webster used with such telling effect to persuade the Maine authorities to accept the Webster-Ashburton compromise; this the editor considerately publishes after mentioning that the Canadian government has published the "King George Map"—which supported the American claim and doubtless helped to persuade the British to accept the compromise on their side. To illustrate the notes on the treaty of 1819 with Spain there is a most interesting map of the Spanish land grants of 1818–1819 in Florida.

Miller's *Treaties,* as it will undoubtedly be called by future publicists—will rank in importance and authenticity with the notable official digests of International Law and of International Arbitrations published by the State Department over the name of John Bassett Moore. It takes its place as one of the great publications of state papers of the United States.

Washington, D. C. SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

Treaties Defeated by the Senate: a Study of the Struggle between President and Senate over the Conduct of Foreign Relations. By W. STULL HOLT, Department of History, The Johns Hopkins University. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1933. Pp. vi, 328. $3.00.)

THIS book sets out to ascertain the motives which actuated those whose votes defeated treaties in the Senate down to and including the Versailles Treaty. Written not without a sense of humor, the author introduces his preface with a quotation which every historical student might well paste in his notebook: "The charm of guessing ancient motives from the records of ancient deeds fascinated me—there is much in the pursuit to appeal to a gambler." Thus frankly admitting that his search is partly gamble, the writer employs with great care all of the apparatus of historical scholarship, greatly to the profit of the student who wishes to survey many critical moments in American foreign policy, and comes out with some conclusions which no one can prove to be wrong since who can say what are the motives which move the minds of men?

The book is organized about two fundamental assumptions. The first is that the Senate is likely to be "jealous" of the constitutional powers in treaty-making, and there is the further implication that the Senate should not yield to such an ignoble passion. The second assumption is not very clearly stated in a footnote following the admission that, historically, foreign policy was to a

considerable extent the issue which gave rise to political parties in the United States. Dr. Holt writes in the footnote (p. 14):

> Contrary to the widespread belief there is no fundamental reason why foreign policy should not be a political issue. Conflicting ideas on questions of foreign policy can be properly expressed in no other way. But insofar as possible the questions should be settled on their merits, and the machinery for deciding foreign policy should be so arranged as to reduce to a minimum the opportunity and temptation for purely political motives or for contests between two branches of the government over their relative powers in reaching the decision.

Just how questions of foreign policy can in the Senate be settled "on their merits" by opposing political parties, and yet in such a way as to reduce the temptation to or opportunity for party contest is not made clear with the result that the facts recorded in the following pages resolve themselves at the end into no clear picture of what they mean. Perhaps they mean that it is a mark of political stability when political parties will actually take up issues of foreign policy and stand or fall upon them, thus permitting the voters to hold a party organization accountable. But this is not the conclusion to which Dr. Holt comes. To him "political motives" in voting on the ratification of treaties seem wicked. Starting with the assumption that the Senate should not have defeated the Peace Treaties, that these treaties substituted "international cooperation and the general good" for "near-sighted idealism", the writer concludes that in rejecting the treaties "it can be asserted with as much certainty as is possible in human affairs that a sincere belief based on the merits of the issue was not the dominant cause of the Senate's action" (p. 307). "Politics had killed another treaty" (p. 303). Then why, pray, does not the party now in power, which sponsored the treaty then, put the United States into the League of Nations? Or, were the Irreconcilables right, but right from wrong motives? This is cutting history pretty fine.

As for the two-thirds rule, Dr. Holt seems to think the founding fathers were misled in creating "the first treaty-making system subject to democratic control". He thinks that the framers would hardly have put the power of defeating treaties into the hands of one more than one-third of the members of the Senate present, if they could have foreseen the party system. A treaty, however, differs from a law in that the latter can be repealed while a treaty cannot. To that extent a treaty is an obligation not to be lightly entered into. A mere majority sentiment for it is not sufficient. Should the treaty impose a burden even a two-thirds sentiment is hardly sufficient, if we are to have good faith between republics.

The book is very provocative of thought in that the facts presented do not easily arrange themselves for conclusions. Is it important, for example, to

change our system of treaty-making because the following treaties were not approved by the Senate: Olney-Pauncefote Arbitration Treaty, 1897; first Hay-Pauncefote Canal Treaty, 1900; Arbitration Treaties, 1904–1905; Dominican Republic, 1905; Taft Arbitration Treaty, 1911; Treaty of Versailles, 1919; and the Treaty of Guarantee, 1919?

Williams College. TYLER DENNETT.

The Civilization of the Old Northwest: a Study of Political, Social, and Economic Development, 1788–1812. By BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR., Professor of History in the University of Cincinnati. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. ix, 543. $3.50.)

THIS book represents the orthodox historian's conception of what constitutes the history of a civilization. The first two chapters contain an analysis of the basis and background of the civilization that came to the Northwest. The following six chapters contain a strictly political account of the history to 1812 of the Northwest Territory, Ohio, Indiana Territory, Illinois Territory, and Michigan Territory. After a chapter on the conquest of the Indians, that should have preceded the political chapters, four "economic" chapters are presented covering the subjects of the land problem, pioneer agriculture, transportation, and trade and industry. There are two social chapters entitled "Cultural and Social Foundations" and "Religion and Order". The concluding chapter is extravagantly entitled "The American Colonial Policy Vindicated".

The book is a storehouse of information representing a tremendous amount of work in the widest range of sources. It is encyclopedic in its scope. For example, one may find information on floating stores, farm pests such as weeds, insects, and predatory animals, the size, cost, and extent of the use of flatboats and keelboats, cattle breeding and droving, frontier camp meetings and circuit riding, literary societies, laws of divorce and debt, the regulation of fences, grist-mills, and ferries, the work of justices of the peace, newspaper standards and controversies, crime and punishment, education, the status of the Negro, and so on.

Unfortunately the author has attempted to write more than an encyclopedia. He has set forth the thesis that the civilization of the Northwest in 1812 was "distinctive". This is supposed to have consisted of a cosmopolitanism of population, a tolerant and thoroughgoing democracy, and a sense of broad nationalism. This last quality is alleged to be the basis for the great decision of the northwestern states to support the Union in 1860. This is doing violence to the well-established fact that until considerably after 1812 the Northwest was commercially and agriculturally tied to the South by the downstream trade. It was essentially the subsequent coming of the canal and railroad that weakened this tie and strengthened the one with the North-

east. As for cosmopolitanism, to mention colonial New York and Pennsylvania is to rob the Northwest of any distinctiveness in this quality. As for thoroughgoing democracy it is doubtful that any American section has yet possessed it. Nor is the degree of democracy that existed in the Northwest in 1812 worthy of the characterization of distinctive.

The author lacks an organic conception of what constitutes a civilization. One cannot understand the coming of law to the Northwest by summarizing in chronological order the output by meetings of the lawmaking bodies. What is the use of describing the disciplinary zeal of the Methodists without testing it as that of a new social group seeking to justify itself by adopting a code of respectability compatible with already existing institutions and standards? When the opportunity is presented of describing the conflict between the red and the white races, how can we fail to note the basic institutional differences and points of vulnerability? Again how can the student who searches for the origins of commerce fail to see in the credit-bought lands and chattels, in the strategically located mills, stores, and storehouses, and in the appearance of bills of deposit, the outline of one of the first steps in the institution of banking?

Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey. RANDOLPH C. DOWNES.

Meriwether Lewis of Lewis and Clark. By CHARLES MORROW WILSON. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1934. Pp. xiii, 305. $3.00.)

MERIWETHER Lewis waited 125 years for a biographer. He might well have waited longer. The biography he has now gained bears the outward trappings of scholarship, but it is not a scholarly work. It is biography more or less in the Ludwigian manner, replete with imaginary conversations and other fictional matter. The narrative is vigorous and easy to read, and if viewed merely as a tale of heroic adventure, deserves a creditable rating. Considered from such viewpoints as accuracy and scholarship, a different judgment must be rendered.

An air of intimacy between the reader and his subject is created by such devices as calling Lewis and Clark "Mearne" and "Billy" (*passim*, throughout the book). They "hone" to fight the British (at the ages of seven and eleven, p. 12). "Pert" news comes from the north (p. 18). The soldiers "now were sorely wrath" (p. 24). "Here was the how of the war" (p. 20), etc., etc.

Names of familiar characters are misspelled; *e.g.*, "Green" for Greene (p. 12), "Harden" for Hardin (p. 30), "Semecoe" for Simcoe (p. 37). The Glaze River becomes "La Graze" (p. 36), and the Maumee the "Mauries" (p. 33). Jefferson purchased Louisiana to provide for agricultural expansion (p. 3). The Hudson's Bay Company resisted the American advance into

Ohio (p. 29). The narration of Wayne's northwestern campaign (ch. IV) abounds in erroneous and naïve statements.

Despite the atmosphere of original research which enfolds the work, the author discloses certain evidence of but the slightest mastery of even the oldest and best-known published sources in his particular field. He characterizes the "Paul Allen edition" of Lewis and Clark, "published variously between 1816–20" (correct date, 1814), as "a popular but far from accurate Nick Carter tale" (p. 292), with no inkling that it is in fact the famous Nicholas Biddle edition. Proof of this is the fact that he elsewhere praises the "valuable" work of Elliot Coues (p. ix), which purports to be (and to some extent is) a faithful reprint of the Paul Allen edition. Piling Ossa upon Pelion, the author further praises Coues's work as "the first authentic transcript of the long-hand journals of Lewis and Clark", which the very title of the work definitely proves it not to be.

After the foregoing it may seem anti-climactic to note that the author appears never to have heard of the journals of Lewis and Ordway (*Wisconsin Hist. Coll.*, Vol. XXII); that he supposes Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, notable editor of the *Original Journals*, belonged to "the United States Department of the Interior" (p. viii); or that James Willard Schultz (*pace* Doane Robinson and Grace R. Hebard) is his only authority for Sacajawea. To sum up, the fundamental criticism of the book is that, a popular adventure narrative, it is made to masquerade as a scholarly work.

Detroit Public Library. M. M. Quaife.

History of the Pacific Coast. By John Walton Caughey, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, University of California at Los Angeles. (Los Angeles: Privately published by the Author. 1933. Pp. xiii, 429. $4.50.)

The author states in the preface that his book "is the first attempt to relate the history of the entire Pacific Coast of North America". He justifies such a treatise on the ground that the Pacific slope has geographical unity and has had many common experiences that give it historical unity as well. He does not, however, give the history of this entire region stretching from Bering Strait to the Isthmus of Panama, for he omits almost altogether any account of Mexico and Central America. Nor does he in fact give a unified treatment of the geographical area covered, that from California to Alaska. What we actually find is a series of chapters that briefly summarize some of the history of the several American states that lie west of the Rockies as well as the history of British Columbia and Alaska. The only unity achieved is in placing these historical summaries within the covers of a single volume. Even the Indians are treated by sections rather than as a whole. The treatment is also unbalanced by assigning almost one-third its space to the Spanish period of California and by giving more than half its pages to the history of that

state while the period since 1850 for all the sections covered is touched upon very lightly.

While this book is not what it purports to be it is something perhaps much better. Its material is for the most part well selected and presented in a smooth running, easy reading, narrative style well adapted to the general reader. It will prove useful as a text for a brief course in the history of the Pacific West or as a guide to its more detailed study, for there are well-chosen bibliographies at the end of each chapter. From the references cited, however, there are many disappointing omissions, such as Porter's *Astor,* Merk's *Fur Trade and Empire,* and Sage's *James Douglas.*

Within the field of this reviewer's special interest some errors of statement have been discovered. It should be noted that Governor George Simpson selected the site for Fort Vancouver and not McLoughlin (p. 214). The main headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company for the Columbia district were moved to Vancouver in 1824 because of its central location at the head of navigation for ocean going vessels and because it was situated on the north bank of the Columbia within territory claimed by the British, and not because Fort George "was too near the coast and to the rum of the trading schooners" (p. 214). Simpson paid three visits to the Columbia district, 1824–1825, 1828–1829, and 1841–1842, each time as American governor of his company and not only the one time in 1841 as "American Plenipotentiary" of his company (p. 216). Attention should also be called to the fact that Dr. McLoughlin attempted no governmental control over Americans nor did he contemplate taking charge of Ewing Young's estate (p. 241). The settlers of the Willamette Valley elected a body of officers in 1841 (not mentioned) who held office for more than two years and Dr. Babcock was chosen as supreme judge, not administrator of Young's estate (p. 241). One "wolf" meeting was held at the Oregon Institute, the other at the home of Gervais, neither at Champoeg (p. 242). The paragraph devoted to the story of the Oregon Provisional Government abounds in errors. Polk did not claim the "whole" of Oregon in his inaugural address and it seems doubtful if he managed the diplomacy of the Oregon question "in masterful fashion" (pp. 244, 245).

The University of Oregon. R. C. Clark.

Thomas Hill, Twentieth President of Harvard. By William G. Land. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1933. Pp. vi, 263. $2.50.)

Thomas Hill was a pioneer in more than one field of intellectual endeavor, and yet was regarded as a failure by his contemporaries and all but forgotten by his posterity. Students of the history of education and of American liberalism will therefore be particularly grateful to Mr. Land for his sympathetic and well-written life of the twentieth president of Harvard.

In view of the conservative attitude prevalent at Harvard toward such pre-Civil War reform movements as the abolition and peace crusades, Mr.

Land might well have made more of the fairly advanced liberal position of President Hill on these social questions. It was, to be sure, in the field of science that this Unitarian theologian and educator did his most important work. He invented various mechanical instruments for calculating eclipses, for determining latitude and longitude, and for performing simple arithmetical calculations; he prepared a number of textbooks that marked an advance over those in use; and he anticipated, rather vaguely it is true, some of the theories of De Vries, Eddington, and Einstein. But important though his conception of the mathematical basis of scientific method and scientific knowledge was, Dr. Hill is particularly to be remembered for his valiant efforts to reconcile the findings and spirit of science with liberal Christianity.

Although Dr. Hill advanced many forward-looking ideas in his work for elementary and higher education, Mr. Land has overemphasized their novelty. Hill was by no means alone in insisting on the importance of making instruction full of meaning to pupils, in criticizing the mechanical methods that dominated teaching, and in opposing the rigid grading system and the overemphasis on mental discipline in the earlier years. The fact of his official position in the educational world did, however, give importance to his emphasis on the idea of education on all levels as a single, unified process; and his device for evaluating the effectiveness of the phonetic method of teaching reading anticipated modern educational tests and measurements.

It appears from the letters cited by Mr. Land that Hill, as president of Antioch College, was disgusted and depressed by the necessity of being compelled to "coax and beg" men of wealth for a pittance in order that the college might survive.

At Harvard, as the predecessor of Charles W. Eliot, Hill stood for most of the liberal educational policies which Eliot was to execute and which won for him the reputation of great educational leadership. President Hill's failure, in Mr. Land's opinion, was due to personal tragedies, to a kindliness that was misinterpreted as weakness, and to a simplicity that was ascribed to a lack of social background (he had been snubbed and hissed at as an undergraduate because of his pious and studious ways and the shabby clothes which poverty forced him to wear).

Although Mr. Land has not always adequately related President Hill's ideas to the intellectual climate of the period, he has written a useful monograph, based on extensive research.

Smith College. MERLE CURTI.

The Life of Moses Coit Tyler. By HOWARD MUMFORD JONES. Based upon an Unpublished Dissertation from Original Sources by THOMAS EDGAR CASADY. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1933. Pp. xi, 354. $2.50.)

In 1929 Mr. Thomas E. Casady submitted at the University of Michigan a biography of Moses Coit Tyler, based largely on the Tyler manuscripts at Cornell, but his death prevented his preparing the work for publication. Professor Jones has rewritten his work, added to it, and made of it an interesting and well-documented biography. If his care for liveliness in style and narrative seems at times to have led him to dramatize too much certain incidents in Tyler's career, or to lend to that career a romantic quality which the record hardly seems to justify, these are the defects of the biographer's virtues, and much of the carefully collected material might, unless thus treated, have been dull reading. Tyler's major achievements and his real qualities of greatness, however, need no heightening, and Mr. Jones's revelation of them is admirable. In his pages is the portrait of a genuine pioneer in historical scholarship, a man of vision, of taste, and of wisdom. Tyler's share in founding the American Historical Association, his vast zeal in historical teaching and especially in improving the teaching and writing of American history, and, above all, his adventurous crusading to make reputable and important the study of American writing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are not things which deserve to be forgotten. Here and there Tyler was wrong, no doubt, but he seems to have been more often right than wrong, and without his work hosts of later historians and literary scholars could hardly have built as securely as they have. Tyler did not always have all the material which we now know; he failed here and there to see things we now believe to be obvious; but he had patience, energy, and, above all, imagination. He was not afraid of theories, though he kept a steady eye on fact; he could write vividly and make stimulating generalizations without losing his grip on the data he amassed from his immense reading. Many of his comments on his work and his beliefs should be memorized by those who would enter in the fields he helped to open; some of his general pronouncements must have been startling to his contemporaries, and some if not startling to-day may still incite scholars to fruitful studies. In 1873 Tyler declared " every fact of American history for the last century has now to be re-examined"—a task not yet done. In the same year he deplored "the imperfect art of the American writers" on early American history. He himself did something to remedy this and others since have done their share, but there is room for more. If his belief that history and biography are essential to literary criticism is one which is challenged often, it is still one which has led to much of the best criticism of American literature since his day. And his comment: "One sign of an epoch of great literary power is the presence of humor. . . . Humor is the drapery of the greatest intellects; it must be so of the great national epochs of intellectual action", contains, true or false, the seeds for more than one unwritten book.

Harvard University. Kenneth B. Murdock.

Reminiscences of an American Scholar: the Beginnings of Columbia University. By JOHN W. BURGESS, Sometime Ruggles Professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law in Columbia University. With a Foreword by Nicholas Murray Butler. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1934. Pp. viii, 430. $3.50.)

HE who would trace the growth of higher education in this country must look chiefly to biographies, especially autobiographies, when he can find them. Our great universities were not created by church councils or government ministries; they were not slowly evolved by common counsel from obscure medieval foundations; they were swiftly organized during the half-century following the Civil War by a small number of individual men, through enlightened personal philanthropy or through the persuasion of bewildered legislatures or on the bases of old classical colleges which resisted more than forwarded the new designs. How Amherst College won a defensive struggle against one of these university builders and how Columbia College succumbed are two important themes of John W. Burgess's *Reminiscences of an American Scholar,* recently published at the close of his remarkable career. But for all its contributions to the history of these two institutions, which the author alone could make, the book will be welcomed even more as a revealing portrait of a powerful and fascinating personality and, incidentally, an analysis of the difficulties, needs, and opportunities which the American scholar of his generation had to face.

Before going further it should be remarked that the book is literature. Its prose has the virility, decisiveness, and deep feeling of its author. In description he is vivid; he deals out praise and blame with deliberate assurance and spare economy of phrase. With half a dozen words he jerks—there is no other word for it—a whole man into full view, and then another and another; the reader knows he is living with very real people. The narrative glows and sparkles, and sometimes scorches.

The drama of this life is played in four main acts, two interludes, and a final apotheosis. First there is the terror, cruelty, and misery of the Civil War as it was transacted about the author's boyhood home in Tennessee. In this the lad, scion of a cultivated Unionist Whig family, played an unhappy rôle and emerged with two deep convictions: first, that the adjustment of human affairs by orderly government and not by violence and war was the most necessary ideal of mankind; and second, that democracy was a practical failure. "I early lost faith", he writes, "in the wisdom and goodness of the mass of men." These two principles were to color his thought and life. The second act, with sudden contrast, brings the hero to the charming serenities of Amherst College. Here in an inspiring society devoted to the conservation of refined manners and Christian learning he determined to

become a scholar. There is an interlude of legal study and of teaching at Knox College, a dimly mirrored Amherst. The third act sweeps us off to Europe where alone the aspiring scholar could acquire the jurisprudence he needed to instruct his own country. Now in a series of vivid sketches he presents the learning of the German universities as he found it under the guidance of our minister George Bancroft. The opening of the third act takes place again at Amherst. Here, in 1873, some circumstances served to favor his dream of a German model university, but, he says, "I was a prophet ahead of my time". A call to Columbia appeared his opportunity and, despite his profound dislike of cities, he accepted. First came disillusionment. Homesick for Amherst he gives a devastating (and somewhat unfair) picture of the Columbia faculty, which as he saw it was largely filled with complacent mediocrity. The 250 students he dismisses as "rich loafers", though the exceptions that he notes, and many that he does not, would throw large doubt upon his general indictment. Here, however, with the benign encouragement of forward-looking trustees and such other aid as he could organize he played a great part in creating a great university. These chapters give the central value of the book.

He sets forth his theories on history and political science and soliloquizes on the Spanish War, which with charming egotism he seems to regard a personal affront to himself, who had taught peace and order those many years. There is an interlude on a village imbroglio in Montpelier, Vermont, which reveals again his quality of resolute determination. The apotheosis comes with his translation to the imperial presence of Wilhelm II as first Roosevelt exchange professor to Germany. His old admiration for German learning, his anxiety for international good will, and his aristocratic predilections made this embassy seem to him the crowning glory of his life and, though he was yet to teach five more years at Columbia and to live nearly two decades afterward, it is perhaps as well that with its account he closes his book, a book no student of American scholarship, or indeed of American character, can well neglect.

Union College. DIXON RYAN FOX.

Woodrow Wilson: the Caricature, the Myth, and the Man. By EDITH GITTINGS REID. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. vii, 242. $3.50.)

THE puzzle of the Wilson career continues and, so long as masses of men are perplexed about the fateful years of 1913 to 1921, there will be fresh pamphlets and biographies. A score of volumes have appeared since the Princeton professor emerged above the level of the average teacher. In another quarter century there are apt to be another score of books about

Wilson, many of them in other languages than his own. There was something in the character of the man as well as in the tragic era in which he lived and fought which challenges American and defies foreign opinion. An orthodox New Englander cannot see why such a man was made President; a good Frenchman cannot understand why the author of the Fourteen Points should have been allowed to go to Paris in 1918.

Mrs. Reid, a personal friend from Wilson's student days and the recipient of scores of letters from the White House, undertakes, in the eleven brief chapters before us, to clear up the misunderstandings, the "Caricatures" and the "Myths" of the two decades of the Wilson discussion and, in the process, she gives letters and conversations designed to show how simple and direct were the thoughts and motives of the twenty-eighth President; and she will add considerably to the knowledge of that small part of the American public that is willing to read sober books. How Wilson functioned as president of Princeton, how he accepted the friendship and leadership of the puzzling George Harvey for two years, and why he liked and disliked William J. Bryan are all cleared up a little in these pages. Nor does the author fail in her explanation of how the Princeton admirer of George Washington came slowly to put Thomas Jefferson on a pedestal quite as high as that on which the First President's bust had stood for a hundred years: he was a young aristocrat of the Old South slowly merging into a second Lincoln. In this curious change Mrs. Reid dwells upon contradictory facts but does not quote many fresh sources. Only a close student of the marvelous events of American history from Cleveland's to Taft's disastrous failures can understand the press and drive in the American social order which made Wilson what he was in 1913, the greatest President since Lincoln.

The chapters which deal with the Great War before 1917, the dreaded decree of fate that put the United States into the European conflict, and the fateful negotiations at Paris all add touches to the picture. Colonel Edward M. House, his many dangerous journeys across the Atlantic, his gentle persuasions before Lloyd George and Clemenceau and his persistent, if vain, maneuvers in victorious Paris, looms large. Johann von Bernstorff, the wise if repudiated, ambassador in Washington, receives due attention, although the dominating *motif* of his overlords in Berlin is not dwelt upon. One reads the fresh story of a close personal friend with interest from beginning to end and, laying it down, wonders how the caricatures and the myths ever came to be so widely accepted: Wilson wished the United States to become a democracy with a presidential leader not unlike a British prime minister and, when war had prostrated all Europe, he hoped that a democratic peace might be written and applied. That was all. Mrs. Reid sees it thus; but the world will not so see it.

The University of Chicago. WILLIAM E. DODD.

SHORTER NOTICES

The Making of Geography. By R. E. Dickinson and O. J. R. Howarth. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. 264, $3.00.) This is a condensed and accurate account of the progress of geography, the oldest of sciences, from its beginnings in Egypt and Sumeria to the developments of the twentieth century in physical and human geography. It also recounts the journeys of all the great travelers and explorers, the "makers" of geography, from Thales and Pythagoras onward, in their relation to the development of knowledge about the earth. Dr. Howarth, well known for his contributions to the science, is responsible for the chapters on Ancient and Medieval geography, less than one-third of the volume, while Mr. Dickinson, lecturer on geography at University College, London, has covered the period from the sixteenth century to the present. The work is illustrated by five plates and thirty text-cuts.

The account of ancient geography leaves little to criticize. The statement that the Assyrian kings were established at Asshur by *ca.* 2400 B. C. has since received most remarkable corroboration by the discovery last February at Khorsabad (Dur-Sharrukin) of a cuneiform tablet listing the names and reigns of about ninety-five kings from the twenty-fourth or twenty-third to the eighth century B. C., only three or four of whom were known before. The date of the Exodus and of the earliest Phœnician colonies on the coast of North Africa, *ca.* 1200, is certainly too late. Sidon's first trading post there—Cambe or Caccabe, whose ruins are near Bordj-Jedid in Tunis—goes back perhaps to the sixteenth century B. C.

The most interesting chapter in the modern section is XV, in which the date 1859 is emphasized as a turning-point in the history of geography. By then the labors of the two founders of modern geography were finished—the *Cosmos* of Alexander von Humboldt (1845–1859) which laid the foundations of physical geography, and the unfinished *Erdkunde* of Carl Ritter (1832–1859), those of human geography, *i.e.*, the interdependence of man and nature. In the same year Darwin's *Origin of Species* established evolution on a scientific basis and necessitated a fundamental change in the geographical viewpoint by introducing the causal as opposed to the earlier teleological interpretation. Five pages of chapter bibliographies and six of index, the latter inadequate, complete the work.

The University of Pennsylvania. WALTER WOODBURN HYDE.

Die Völker des antiken Orients. Die Aegypter. Von Hermann Junker. [Geschichte der führenden Völker, herausgegeben von Heinrich Finke, *et al.*, Band 3.] *Die Babylonier, Assyrer, Perser, und Phöniker.* Von Louis Delaporte. (Freiburg im Breisgau, St. Louis, B. Herder Book Company,

1933, pp. ix, 362, $3.00.) This composite work forms one of a series which is designed to present to the general reader a brief history of the people of the ancient Orient. The treatment of the Egyptians by Hermann Junker occupies 174 pages of the book. It requires no little skill to compress the long and varied history of Egypt into so small a space. On the whole, however, Junker has done his work well. One is surprised at times by the fullness of detail given to some sections of the history and the brevity with which other portions are treated. Thus, the ninth and tenth dynasties from which we have comparatively little material are given more space than the twelfth dynasty whose history formed the apex of the Middle Kingdom; and the whole period from the beginning of the twenty-first dynasty (1085 B. C. to 30 B. C.) is compressed into eight pages. The author has overlooked the evidence of the Egyptian occupation of Phœnicia in the time of the fourth dynasty and mentions the expedition of Una in the time of the sixth dynasty as the first conquest of Egypt in Asia.

Delaporte's treatment of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, and Phœnicians is also necessarily much compressed but cannot, on the whole, be said to be as successful as Junker's treatment of Egypt. The latest excavations in Babylonia have thrown an abundance of light upon the prehistory of that land. Delaporte seems scarcely to have comprehended the problems raised by the new discoveries. The general outline of Ancient history is fairly correct but his treatment of Phœnicia is hardly abreast of the latest information. For example, the author repeats the error Virolleaud made four years ago that the original name of Ras Shamra was 'Zapuna', whereas it has been known for at least two years that it was 'Ugarit'—ZPN being simply a Phœnician word for 'north'.

Doubtless the work will prove of use to German readers but those who employ the English language will still do better to consult the works of L. W. King, Sidney Smith, and A. T. Olmstead.

The University of Pennsylvania. GEORGE A. BARTON.

The Fifth Dura Hoard. By Edward T. Newell. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 58.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1933, pp. 14, 2 plates.) In a previous issue of this *Review* (XXXVIII, 582) I spoke of Bellinger's publication of the third and fourth hoards to be found at Dura-Europos, where Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters are carrying on their important excavations. The fifth hoard, found on November 15, 1930, is now ably published by Dr. Newell. The hoard, consisting of twenty-nine silver pieces (twenty-two tetradrachms, six denarii, and one antoninianus), is without question intact, for it had been corroded into a single compact mass and showed traces of the cloth bag which once had contained it.

The hoard can be divided into four groups, separated by denominations and dates, and is extraordinary not only for what it contains, but for what it lacks. In the first group we have fifteen posthumous tetradrachms bearing the name and types of the Seleucid king, Philip Philadelphus. These are a late reissue of the Seleucid type brought out by the city of Antioch in the days of Julius Caesar and Octavian. The coins show evidence of long circulation as do those in the second group. Here we have seven imperial tetradrachms, also from the Antioch mint, with portraits of Nero, Galba, and Titus. Although more than eighty years separate the two groups, there is, for example, no tetradrachm of Augustus—an unusual fact which illustrates the long circulation enjoyed by the posthumous Seleucid coins. Group III is separated from the preceding by forty years and comprises six denarii from Trajan to Commodus (114–185 A. D.). Group IV contains the antoninianus with the portrait of Valerian Senior. Struck between 253 and 260 A. D. it is thus about seventy years later than any coin in Group III!

The coins of the first three groups are distinctly reminiscent of an epoch earlier than the date at which the hoard was actually abandoned. Bearing in mind that the hoard is intact, how is one to account for the lone antoninianus? Did the owner of the hoard find it or inherit it and then add a coin of his own time? In any case the antoninianus fixes the date *post quem* for the abandonment of the hoard. The abandonment is undoubtedly to be associated with the sack of Dura in 256–257 A. D. by the Persians under Sapor I. The finding of the hoard in a street indicates that it had been dropped by some terrified citizen or overburdened looter.

Brown University. C. A. Robinson, jr.

The Achievement of Rome: a Chapter in Civilization. By William Chase Greene, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Greek and Latin in Harvard University. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1933, pp. xiv, 560, $4.50.) This book is a compact summary of material usually found in a dozen large treatises on Roman conquest, political history, public life, institutions, religion, literature, and much else. The task required perspective and ability to condense with good judgment rather than original investigation, and the author has met these requirements very well. He has surveyed the sources and read most of the recent works in this wide field. The book can profitably be placed in the hands of general readers and of college students. Naturally errors will slip into a work that ranges so widely, but these can readily be eliminated in a new edition. Their nature may be seen from the following instances. Saguntum is called a Greek city (p. 55), the Gracchan allotments are said to be 500 jugera (p. 264), *pales* is derived from *pascor* (p. 20), the Tullianum is dated in the regal period (p. 26); the author assumes that Rome fought Philip for open seas (p. 61), he misunderstands the word *peperino* (p. 154),

supposes that a tribune could void a tribune's veto (p. 196), he attributes to Cato a remark of Nasica (p. 202), accepts Sallust's "first conspiracy" of 66 (p. 220), calls the *Res Gestae* the autobiography of Augustus (p. 233), credits Augustus's census with only about 1,500,000 citizens (p. 243), and misunderstands the public finances of Augustus (pp. 236–237, 243). But such slips will trouble the specialist rather than the general reader.

The preface thanks the General Education Board for grants of funds for making possible the completion of the book.

T. F.

La polemica sul Medio Evo. Vol. I. Per Giorgio Falco. [Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina, nuova serie diretta da Armando Tallone, CXLIII.] (Turin, Fedetto and Company, 1933, pp. vii, 414, 25 l.). This is nowadays a rather unusual type of book. It is a systematic exposition, with running comment, of the varying estimates of the classical historians, "from Humanism to Romanticism", on the nature and character, the virtues and vices, of the Middle Ages. It answers the question: How did they view the Middle Ages and why? The author uses Bruni, Biondo, and Machiavelli as his *terminus a quo,* judges Keller, Bossuet, Voltaire, and Condorçet with some brevity, devotes more attention to Robertson and very much to Gibbon, and finishes with Gatterer, Schlözer, Müller, and F. Schlegel. We are given an impressive demonstration of the relativity of the estimates to the periods and circumstances of the successive authors. This volume, complete in itself —and incidentally useful in recalling the paternity of many of the current generalizations on the medieval period—is to be followed by another which will attempt to interpret the Middle Ages for our times; it will be devoted "alla polemica metodica e alla visione possibilmente organica di un medio evo rispondente alle nostre esigenze spirituali". One would give much to have Ranke's comments on the idea.

G. C. S.

Readings in Medieval History. By Jonathan F. Scott, New York University, Albert Hyma, The University of Michigan, Arthur H. Noyes, Ohio State University. (New York, F. S. Crofts and Company, 1933, pp. xv, 642, $3.50.) This volume—typographically very attractive—is the fruit of an effort to make more adequate provision than hitherto in the matter of supplementary reading for college classes in Medieval history. There are in it 103 well-chosen extracts, forty-eight from sources and fifty-five from secondary works, the latter constituting nearly two-thirds of the contents. Orientation is supplied in brief introductions written by the compilers. Most of the extracts serve to illustrate or clarify aspects of civilization and culture, but some bear on political history in its more important and interesting

phases. The source materials are, in general, either of large individual importance or else very typical of what they represent; included among them are the first portion of Tacitus's *Germania,* almost all of Eginhard's *Vita Karoli,* passages from Walter of Henley's *Husbandry,* the *Articles of the London Hatters,* specimens of a medieval dissertation and of Goliardic poetry, several pages from Vasari's *Lives,* and many another selection equally instructive. The secondary material is drawn in some instances from older standard works (those of Gibbon, Milman, Burckhardt, Draper, and Creighton among others) but for the most part from recent books and articles. The matter is of course all in English, and very little of it appears to be available in earlier volumes of collateral reading which cover the same general field. Skillfully fitted together into twenty-one sections with appropriate topical-chronological captions, the extracts present a vivid and colorful panorama of the Middle Ages. The hope of the compilers that their offering will "stimulate the interest of college students in the reading and study of history", seems not unfounded. Moreover, while their book provides the sort of material that the current emphasis on *Kulturgeschichte* calls for, it also affords opportunity for gaining initial acquaintance with a reasonably wide range of interpretations and authors. Larger use of collateral reading in this form would make possible more effective testing of students' assimilative and critical powers; and it would reduce the need of filling our college and university libraries with abnormally large stocks of duplicate books.

The University of Chicago. EINAR JORANSON.

Les origines de la commune de Tournai: Histoire interne de la seigneurie épiscopale tournaisienne. Par Paul Rolland, docteur en philosophie et lettres, archiviste-paléographe. (Brussels, Maurice Lamertin, 1931, pp. 263, 50 fr. Belges.) This excellent study of the early history of the commune of Tournai is made in accordance with the most recent ideas about the evolution of urban communities in early feudal times. Data of all sorts, geographical, archæological, philological, and documentary are employed. The author describes first of all the acquisition of manorial property by the church of Our Lady situated on the left bank of the Schelde. Louis the Pious in 817 gave to the bishop of Tournai some land from the royal fisc, to which subsequent donations were added. Without doubt the incursions of the Northmen and the encroachments of the counts of Flanders materially hastened this process. Within this immunity the bishops possessed certain political rights such as coinage, justice, and the levying of tolls, for which they owed homage to the crown of France. A similar evolution took place on the left bank of the Schelde, but as this territory lay within the Empire, the bishops recognized the emperors as their superiors. The extent of the Carolingian *castrum* is carefully traced. Tournai was an ancient Roman foundation and during

early feudal times still profited from the numerous Roman roads and *diverticula* which ran from Courtrai, Térouanne, Lille, Arras, Douai, Bavai, and Valenciennes and converged upon the left bank where a bridge afforded a crossing to the opposite side. Lime and limestone became important articles of export. This is proved by the fact that along the roads just mentioned buildings constructed from stone quarried in the land of Tournai are still standing. There also was some production of wool in excess of local needs and the surplus of other agricultural products was sold at the weekly market of Tournai. All this activity, which existed as early as 1000, makes it possible for us to postulate a vigorous and steadily expanding community. This growth in population is proved by the erection of town walls and the construction of new churches. Beside the episcopal *civitas*, a commercial and industrial *villa* come into existence. The *Charité de Saint-Christophe* was a merchant gild the first mention of which occurs in a document dated 1188, but it certainly is much older. As the community expanded and its common interests progressed, corporate expression became inevitable. By the middle of the twelfth century a college of eleven *jurati* had been formed to take care of matters in which the *scabini* of the bishop were not interested and which they neglected. The appearance of this college marks the beginning of the commune of Tournai. The customs which sprang from its social and economic life became the basis of the charters issued by Philip Augustus in 1188 and 1211.

The University of Washington. HENRY S. LUCAS.

Kent Keepers of the Peace, 1316–1317. Edited with an Introduction by Bertha Haven Putnam, Ph.D., Professor of History at Mount Holyoke College. [Kent Archæological Society, Kent Records, Volume XIII.] (Ashford, Headley Brothers, 1933, pp. lviii, 146.) The volume includes the most extensive known record of early indictments before the keepers of the peace, preserved in two Assize rolls of 1316 and 1317. There is also printed part of a document of more familiar type, a Gaol Delivery roll, recording trials at Canterbury in June and at Milton in September, 1317. The latter records show the disposition of over thirty cases included in the earlier, but along with cases arising through indictment before sheriffs and bailiffs and in various other ways. No instance appears of a case tried merely upon indictment before a coroner.

In the introduction Miss Putnam reviews the history of the office of keeper of the peace, a subject upon which no one is so well qualified to write. She also throws light upon the felonies and misdemeanors of the period, and presents some data upon the problem of prices and that of surnames. The somewhat surprising fact is brought out that in this instance the commissioners who tried the cases were in greater part the same

persons who as keepers had taken most of the indictments. The last-named officials made an itinerary of hundreds and liberties of the county. The number of indictment jurors ordered for their purpose was twelve, eighteen, or twenty-four from each hundred, the number employed usually ranging from nine to sixteen, but sometimes reaching twenty-four and once twenty-nine. Some members of presenting juries were included in panels of trial jurors. Certain of the former were the persons injured by the offenses which they indicted. Aside from mention of the borgh and the lathe, the documents contain no reference to local custom. The observation may be made that the ascendancy of the keepers of the peace over the sheriff in the reception of indictments for common law offenses, is hardly shown by later Gaol Delivery rolls to be maintained. This function of the sheriff is of course not part of a communal jurisdiction, as one might infer, for it is authorized in effect by the Assize of Clarendon.

The University of California. W. A. Morris.

Lübeck-stockholmer Handelsgeschichte im 14. Jahrhundert. Von Dr. Wilhelm Koppe. [Handels- und Seegeschichte im Auftrage des hansischen Geschichtsvereins, herausgegeben von Fritz Rörig und Walther Vogel, Band II.] (Neumünster, Karl Wachholtz, 1933, pp. xv, 299, 9 M.) In this book Dr. Koppe presents a section, a sample, of the history of Hanseatic trade in Northern Europe—the trade between Lübeck and Stockholm, particularly from 1368 to 1400. It is his hope that this study will be followed by other similar investigations. He feels that the history of the Lübeck-Stockholm trade brings out elements which were characteristic of Lübeck's wider trade, which still, however, remains to be studied.

Stockholm and Lübeck served each other as highly specialized wholesale markets with a wide market hinterland. Stockholm collected copper, iron, forest and animal products, and cereals for Lübeck and its area, and received in return, through the Hanse city, cloth—especially from Bruges, wine, oils, salt, and other goods which Sweden did not produce. Not only goods moved in this trade; to Stockholm came through Lübeck a stream of influences, business entrepreneurs, laborers, capital, and methods, which helped to further and condition the economic and business as well as the cultural development of Sweden.

Dr. Koppe is interested, however, not only in what was exchanged but, perhaps even more strongly, in the men and means whereby the exchange was made. A large portion of the book is devoted to the men carrying on the trade and the part they played in it. He makes trade not only a matter of the working out of economic forces but the interrelationship of men as well. He gives considerable attention to business organization. There were lines of ships and tramp ships. The organization of the merchants varied.

There were individual enterprisers, with hired assistants, and partnerships. The latter were of two types: that in which one partner merely supplied capital while another managed the trade; and that in which all partners engaged in the work of the partnership. One person could be a capitalist partner in one association and an active partner in another. Interesting light is also thrown on the trade practices of the time; goods were consigned to be sold on commission and contracts were made for future delivery.

The book is heavy, as it is packed with minute details. Much of the original material is given, which is quite justifiable in view of the fact that the sources are so inaccessible to most students. The study bears the earmarks of careful scholarship and of an understanding of the wider significance and relations of the subject. Moreover, it is an interesting and, considering the limitations of the material, a successful attempt to get at the realities of a most important trade in the Middle Ages.

Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. HENRIETTA M. LARSON.

The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II. Edited by Edouard Perroy. [Camden third series, Volume XLVIII.] (London, The Royal Historical Society, 1933, pp. xxxii, 281.) This is a collection of the surviving letters issued in the name of Richard II and sent to foreign courts, including, of course, the papal court; but it does not include letters to or from ambassadors. The volume opens with an extremely serviceable introduction giving a discussion of the part played by the various departments of state in the diplomatic work of the government—the chief rôle is assigned to the privy seal office—followed by an account of collections of documents and some notes on diplomatics. The privy seal office did not customarily enroll letters issued under its authority; and the compiler has had to draw not only on various British collections but also on archives in Paris, Rome, and Barcelona. Mr. Perroy does not claim to print "anything like an absolutely complete collection"; but the possibility that some more letters may exist in scattered Continental archives detracts not at all from the value of this volume to students of the period.

Of the 259 documents only twenty-eight have previously been printed. These twenty-eight are calendared, except No. 109 which is given in full; most of the petitions to the papacy are also given in calendar form; and, of necessity, the twenty-six *lost letters,* the purport of which has been gathered from replies or other references to them, are summarized only. No. 88, addressed to Pope Urban is annotated *Non emanavit,* as is also No. 57 to the Empress Elizabeth. A letter addressed to Pedro IV of Aragon and James I of Cyprus, No. 56, while of more than questionable authenticity, is included for reasons which do not seem entirely convincing. It might be noted that,

while the last document is numbered 252, the total number of entries is larger by seven, because of the inclusion of two additional documents under No. 121, four under No. 182, and one under No. 229.

"Historical Notes", the third section of the volume, is an admirable piece of painstaking work giving much information regarding persons and matters mentioned in the letters. The index, restricted to names of persons and places, seems accurate and adequate.

Washington and Jefferson College. A. H. SWEET.

Necker, fourrier de la Révolution, 1732–1804. Par E. Lavaquery. (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1933, pp. vii, 385, 20 fr.) Like a pre-1929 Colossus, Necker bestrode the pre-Revolutionary world and was found hollow and wanting when he faced the test of fact in a world in which the old forms were broken up. *L'abbé* Lavaquery has retold—in certain respects, has told for the first time—how this child of Geneva won wealth in the banking house of Thelusson, how after 1772 he devoted his fortune to the pursuit of political power and fame. M. Lavaquery's purpose seems to have been essentially psychological, to portray the individual rather than the official. His analysis wholly justifies the cruel bust by Houdon, of which he includes two photographs. On the other hand, at least to a student of less personal aspects of the period, it seems deplorable that a whole new book about Necker has nothing to offer outside of the traditionally marked stages of his career.

Much of M. Lavaquery's disparagement of Necker is directed toward his attempts to solve his government's financial difficulties by means of (and to the profit of) the organized money market, international and cosmopolitan in personnel and attitudes. Unfortunately, he fails to establish the form of Necker's relations with international finance (as it is possible to do). On the other hand, the disparagement obviously needs much qualification. From about 1789, perhaps from as early as 1763, down at least to the very recent past, the only practicable way to govern has been in very close co-ordination with the "international financiers". The Revolution and the Napoleonic period were characterized by a vigorous reaction against that very repugnant conclusion, and our own day is witnessing manifestations of the same sort. In the interval, we can only conclude (if we must judge) that "international finance" served greatly in the political and economic evolution of Western society. Necker was more nearly right than Napoleon. Here, in connection with Necker's financial aspect (certainly not the least of his aspects) M. Lavaquery has disappointed the hopes that his title aroused. He has written about a man who in his time was an international financier *par excellence;* he has given some vague intimations of the relations that justify that epithet or description; but he has not written the story of Necker, the international financier.

The brief *notes bibliographiques* indicate a rather wide enterprise in the search for Necker materials, but not much attention to collateral materials. Several Americans, for example, including Franklin, Jefferson, and Gouverneur Morris, had much to do with Necker and something to say of him, but are not mentioned. On the other hand, M. Lavaquery has read too much Cochin and Gaxotte and sometimes, as on page 73 (note), illustrates what stupidities that school can generate.

The University of Wyoming. F. L. Nussbaum.

Souvenirs sur la Révolution, l'Empire, et la Restauration. Par le général comte de Rochechouart. [Nouvelle édition, non expurgée, établie sur le manuscrit original.] (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1933, pp. vii, 515, 36 fr.) This volume of *Souvenirs* presents a moderately interesting account of its author, Louis-Victor-Léon de Rochechouart, from his birth in 1788 to the year 1818. Descended from a venerable French noble family, Rochechouart spent part of his youth (according to the narrative) as an émigré in England, Germany, and elsewhere. Returning to France in 1801, he became a petty officer in the regiment of Mortemart, but shortly afterward, upon the dissolution of that corps, he set out again on his travels, this time through Italy to the Near East. At Odessa he encountered a cousin, the Duc de Richelieu, who was governor of the Crimea, and the outcome of this meeting was that Rochechouart served Russia for the ensuing eight or nine years as aid-de-camp to Richelieu and Czar Alexander. The Bourbon restoration brought him back to France to the rank of field marshal and the position of "commandant de la place" in Paris; and at this juncture the story ends. The high lights are a few spicy anecdotes, an interpretation of the life of an *émigré*, a good presentation of the sojourn of Louis XVIII at Ghent, and a vivid description of the execution of Marshal Ney. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the book is the fact that it is not a reprint of the first (1889) edition, but a new version of the count's life based on a hitherto unpublished manuscript of 1839.

Western Reserve University. John Hall Stewart.

G. Berchet: La letteratura e la politica del Risorgimento nazionale, 1783–1851. Per Ettore Li Gotti. [Storici Antichi e Moderni.] (Florence, "La Nuova Italia", 1933, pp. 564.) Giovanni Berchet, poet-patriot, was born in Milan, the son of a cloth merchant. Slow to mature as a poet, he became after 1815 a champion of romanticism, and as "Grisostomo" fought for its ideals in the famous "azure sheet", the *Conciliatore* (1818–1819). He was implicated in the conspiracy of 1820–1821 at Milán. Escaping the Austrian courts by flight, he maintained his independence as a clerk in a London countinghouse until 1829, then wandered through Europe as tutor to the son

of the Countess Costanza Arconati, to whom his heart offered a lifelong and hopeless devotion. Exile wrung from him the poetry that gave him the name of "the Italian Tyrtaeus"—particularly the *Fantasie* (1829) and the battle hymn *All'armi! All'armi!* Returning to Italy in 1846, he settled in Piedmont, became an official of the revolutionary government of Milan in 1848, and in 1849 was elected a deputy to the Sardinian parliament by a town that he had to look up on the map.

Berchet belonged to a generation that was born just an hour too soon. His ideal was a free and united Italy, but he was endowed with singular common sense, and having precipitated himself into the isolation of exile by premature action in 1821, he came to abhor the intemperate Mazzinians and gave his last years to the support of Piedmont, whose king, Charles Albert, his youth had denounced as the "Carignano esecrato". Could he have stayed in Lombardy, his genius and strength of will would have been of invaluable service to those who devoted themselves to educating their fellow countrymen for freedom.

Berchet's life richly illustrates the sufferings, the handicaps, and the value to Italy of its best type of *émigré*. Signor Li Gotti's lengthy and devoted study of it is what Mr. Harold Nicolson has called "biography for the student". The author goes into every byway that may lead to a better command of Berchet's mind and spirit and of his position as a champion of romanticism, as an Italian poet, and as an agent of national liberty. Readers who believe that instead of one there were many diverse romanticisms will find here abundant material to support their thesis; students of the Risorgimento, interested in the evolution of its ideals, will find in the mental history of this exile an illuminating foil to the movement at home that rallied the Italians around Cavour.

The Johns Hopkins University. KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century. By Crane Brinton. (London, Ernest Benn, 1933, pp. vii, 311, 15*s*.) Professor Brinton traces the development of political thought in England during the nineteenth century by describing and analyzing the ideas of nineteen representative Englishmen in this field, grouping them under the headings "The Revolution of 1832", "Chartism", and "The Prosperous Victorians". In a brief but suggestive introduction, he discusses problems confronting the student of political thought, and in an equally brief conclusion he summarizes deductions drawn from his analyses. Critics are to some extent disarmed by the author's frank admissions that it is difficult to connect political thought with political action, that some of the men discussed, Cobbett, Bradlaugh, and Kidd, cannot be called political philosophers, and that "no great simplifying categories are readily available". By way of explanation it is also necessary to add that

Professor Brinton uses the term "Chartism" to denote a period—some of the men grouped under that heading would have been horrified at the thought of being linked with the political dogmas of the Chartists.

Professor Brinton casts his net wide. The ideas of the men he has chosen reveal the great variety of English political thought in the period under discussion; his method infuses the subject with a concreteness often lacking in treatises on political philosophy; and his essays are fresh and vigorous. They are not of equal value, but then again there are great inequalities among the men he discusses. Those on Bentham, Mill, and T. H. Green have made an especially favorable impression on the reviewer, but this may be due to whims of taste. Several of the others are excellent. In the case of most of the men who deserve to be called leaders of political thought, the examination of their philosophical theories includes, of course, more than their views on politics. The ideas of men like Owen, Cobden, Newman, and Spencer, were not kept in water-tight compartments; views on religion, ethics, economics, and biology were integrated with or determined those on politics. In this respect the method followed by Professor Brinton gives the reader more than is promised in the title of the book. On the other hand the conventional method of tracing political thought might have compelled the author to include such topics as colonization, imperial expansion, and international relations which deserve a place in any such study.

It is possible to differ with the author on the choice of men, and many of his generalizations are open to challenge. For instance, in the judgment of the reviewer, to make Carlyle "one of the founders of modern British Imperialism" (p. 176) is as erroneous as to make him responsible for the war of 1914. However, Professor Brinton has made a heroic and, on the whole, successful effort to present a complex and difficult subject.

The University of Wisconsin. PAUL KNAPLUND.

French Royalist Doctrines since the Revolution. By Charlotte Touzalin Muret. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1933, pp. viii, 326, $3.00.) Mrs. Muret has written a useful summary of the work of the chief royalist theorists in France from Joseph de Maistre and Bonald to Maurras and the *Action Française*. In the opinion of this reviewer, the work would have been more valuable if the extended summaries of the writings of these thinkers had been reduced in length and more general comment and criticism introduced. Too often the summaries are lifeless and seem to stand in a vacuum. It is evident, in the chapters devoted to the *Action Française* movement, that the author has a deep knowledge of French civilization and is capable of writing a penetrating commentary on the material she has used. The book emphasizes the general tendency of the royalist theorists to think primarily in political terms, and, with the exception of a few writers, their

indifference to fundamental economic considerations. More emphasis might have been laid, in the first chapters, on the wider implications of the theories of Bonald and De Maistre, specifically on their relation to the theories of Bossuet, on the central importance of Ultramontanism in their whole scheme, on the parallels of their thought with the contemporary conservative theorizing of Burke, Savigny, Novalis, and Friedrich Schlegel, and, finally, on the use of some of their basic conceptions by Fascist and Communist theorists of later generations. Nearly all the histories of political theory fail to emphasize the central position and influence of this historical, evolutionary, and organicist current in the thought of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Beside it, the Liberal theorizing usually seems timid and far less original. Certainly in the nineteenth century, though the Liberals played a larger political rôle, the Conservative and the Radical political theorists added much more to the stock of essentially new ideas. The bibliography, arranged almost entirely by men, seems to indicate that the author has conceived the subject too largely from this point of view. The whole work, however, is carefully done and will serve as a useful introduction to an important subject.

Oberlin College. FREDERICK B. ARTZ.

Ships and South Africa: a Maritime Chronicle of the Cape with Particular Reference to Mail and Passenger Liners from the Early Days of Steam down to the Present. By Marischal Murray. With a Foreword by General The Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. xxvi, 360, $14.00.) The author and publisher are to be congratulated on the production of a book of unusual beauty. Paper, type, binding, and illustrations are of superlative excellence. The mass of information is great and impressive and constitutes a veritable encyclopedia. Since the citations are relatively few, the reader is generally unable to trace the source of a specific item; they are sufficient to indicate a wide use of printed books. In the main however the author has derived his facts from contemporary newspapers and periodicals—especially "old Cape journals"—from the shipping companies, and from libraries and museums devoted to maritime affairs. The brief paragraph in the preface giving sources of information might well have been elaborated, for there is no bibliography. The period covered by the volume (see the Chronology) begins with the arrival in 1825 at Cape Town of the *Enterprise,* the first steamship to visit South Africa, and ends with the passage of the Cape by the White Star Liner *Baltic* (23,884 tons) in 1933, the largest merchant vessel ever seen in South African waters. The book does not treat of sailing ships and only incidentally of the irregular tramp steamship. It is mainly concerned with the mail and passenger steamships and the lines under which they sailed. It is not confined to vessels trading with Cape Town and other South African ports, but in-

cludes vessels trading with Asian and Australian ports, for which the Cape served as a port of call. There is a good index of ships' names. The general index is however very inadequate.

Not least in value are the excellent illustrations. These are reproductions of photographs, paintings, and drawings, 332 in number, all of which are of steamships, with the exception of thirteen. These latter, which in some respects are of more general interest, include such titles as the Cape Town Docks, Capt. Smith of the *Athens,* Sir Donald Currie, Off to the Diamond Fields, Table Bay during the Boer War, and Travelling in the Danger Zone, 1917. More illustrations of this general character would have been a valuable inclusion.

The first of the two main parts into which the volume is divided is of a narrative character, with a chronological and topical arrangement. The principal topics are early vessels, steamship lines, the Boer War, the World War, the postwar period, and shipwreck and disasters. Of the lines, the Union Line, the Castle Line, and the Union-Castle Line are treated at length. The rivalry between lines, the combination of lines, and the achievements of Donald Currie, the "Colossus of South African shipping" are featured. Part II contains much detailed information arranged by lines and ships, and the appendix gives important lists of vessels.

Division of Historical Research, CHARLES O. PAULLIN.
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Un grand tournant de la politique mondiale, 1904–1906. Par Maurice Paléologue, de l'Académie française, ambassadeur de France. (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1934, pp. 455, 30 fr.) Maurice Paléologue, one of the most notable practitioners of the "old diplomacy" of devious methods and purely nationalistic aims, lets us in this book look over the pages of his diary as kept during the critically important years when France gained and Germany lost such potent friends as Italy and Great Britain. So far as novel information is desired, such belated diplomatic diaries usually yield a disappointing harvest, for not much of importance can be kept from "leaking" for three decades. They are worth reading if, as in this case, they can resurrect the mood of another year and enable us to relive with another generation the excitements of its time.

As far back as 1898, the author notes in his journal, Delcassé declares to an Anglophobe Russian "For Russia as for France, England is a rival . . . but not the enemy! If only England, Russia, and France could ally together against Germany!" (p. 13). The Far Eastern policy of Russia is deplored by the French statesmen as leading to the unhappy Russo-Japanese War which, by weakening and diverting Russia, strengthened Germany on the European chessboard. Italy is diligently cultivated in despite of the dis-

pleasure of the pope. The Dogger Bank incident threatening war between Russia and Great Britain throws the French diplomats into a panic; it seems to disrupt all their hopes for a triple entente; if the danger of war was not real, as some writers now say, it was believed to be very real at the moment. Delcassé advises the Russians to apologize, "Lose not a moment! Take care lest, perhaps tomorrow, an English squadron may receive the order to bombard your ships!" (p. 144). The Schlieffen plan is discussed in French military and political circles as early as 1904 (pp. 175–177). The mysterious Russo-German negotiations at Björkö cause great alarm, and Russia goes as far as to sound out the French foreign office on the question of a possible triple alliance of Russia, France, and Germany; a suggestion which the French vehemently repudiate (p. 402). Germany attempts to induce King Alfonso XIII to make a hostile demonstration against France in the event of a Franco-German war (p. 416). Such were the "alarums and excursions" which kept the French diplomats in a constant turmoil of apprehension during the period of the Russo-Japanese War and the first Morocco crisis.

The University of Michigan. PRESTON SLOSSON.

The Capitulatory Régime of Turkey: its History, Origin, and Nature. By Nasim Sousa, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1933, pp. xxiii, 373, $3.50.) This useful volume presents an important subject which can now be handled almost definitively, since little is left of the capitulatory system anywhere in the world. Dr. Sousa claims only to give "a brief account of the salient features in the history of the capitulations", leaving it to others to make a full and final study, but he presents a clearer, more complete, and less prejudiced explanation than has anyone else, writing in any language. While rightly deriving the system from the idea of "personality of law", and not from the nature of the Mohammedan religion or the Turkish body of laws, Dr. Sousa appears to overlook the probability that in the remote past "personality of law" grew out of the prolonged residence in one city or state of persons who, coming from another city or state, worshipped alien gods whose laws they felt obliged to obey.

The book is in two parts, divided by the outbreak of the World War. After three chapters of interesting historical considerations, the Turkish capitulations are considered in the three periods when they were regarded first as reciprocal, then as unilateral and spontaneously granted by Turkey, and finally as still unilateral, but so far partaking of the character of treaties that they could not be changed except by reciprocal action. The second part discusses Turkey's attempt in 1914 to abrogate the capitulations unilaterally, their suspension during the war and technical restoration at its close, the rise of nationalism in Turkey with resistance to the restoration, and the abolition

of the system in the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923. The last chapter sets forth the legal principles involved in the abolition. No attempt is made to define the present situation of foreigners in Turkey or in the territories detached after the war. Particular attention is paid throughout to the relations between the United States and Turkey. Substantial appendixes contain pertinent documents, with a table of treaties providing for the replacing of the capitulatory relationship by customary international reciprocity. A bibliography, well arranged and annotated, occupies twenty pages. Numerous "juicy" footnotes (some long enough to be made appendixes) and a brief index add to the usefulness of the volume. The style is sometimes slightly foreign, and once or twice unintelligible (what is meant on page 183 by the statement that "the Sultan crowned Kadowitz . . . with homage"?). A few errors in proof reading, spelling, and fact need not be cited here. The brief treaty of 1929 between the United States and Turkey might well have been listed on page 353.

Not only does the book develop its direct subject well, but in both text and footnotes it presents much collateral information, hardly to be found in compact form elsewhere, as for instance facts concerning extraterritoriality in China (pp. 171–173, 306 ff.), the "protégé system" in Turkey (pp. 93 ff.), and the Straits question (pp. 60–63).

The University of Illinois. A. H. Lybyer.

William Penn. By C. E. Vulliamy. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934, pp. xii, 302, $3.00.) The occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of William Penn in America was partly responsible for the appearance of several new lives of the Quaker leader and founder of Pennsylvania, William Penn. The most important of these were M. R. Brailsford's *The Making of William Penn* (1930), Arthur Pound's *Penns of Pennsylvania* (1932), and Bonamy Dobree's *William Penn, Quaker and Pioneer* (1932). To this list of single volume lives of William Penn C. E. Vulliamy, the author of a recent *Life of John Wesley,* a noteworthy religious biography, contributes yet another. Mr. Vulliamy appears not only to have made a diligent examination of the secondary material dealing with the early history of the Society of Friends and of the Penn family but to have gained access to a considerable collection of manuscripts not previously available. With the exception, however, of two or three unpublished letters he gives in this volume comparatively little information about the life and work of Penn not found in other biographies. The author has succeeded to a marked degree in bringing together in a book of medium length an interestingly written, well-balanced, and accurate account of the life of the great "quaker, courtier, and pioneer". The inconsistencies of Penn's life, his so-called intrigues with the Stuart monarchs, his theological controversies, his zeal for

freedom and for the founding of Pennsylvania are all treated in the light of the highly colorful period in which he lived and labored. The author is neither supercritical nor excessively eulogistic in his consideration of the many questions about which there is a divergence of opinion. Especially noteworthy is his success in placing his subject in a true historical perspective in relation to the men and events of his time. Few, if any, of the biographers of Penn have given a clearer analysis of Penn as he influenced and was influenced by the religious tendencies present in England both during and after the Reformation. The absence of long, involved discussions of the conflicting religious theories of the day together with a well-integrated selection of materials and a pleasing style makes this volume of unusual interest to the general reader.

The Pennsylvania State College. ASA E. MARTIN.

Toronto during the French Régime: a History of the Toronto Region from Brûlé to Simcoe, 1615–1793. By Percy J. Robinson, M.A. [The Canadian Historical Studies.] (Toronto, Ryerson Press; Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1933, pp. xx, 254, $10.00.) The chief value of this local history is that it may awaken some Torontonians to the fact that Frenchmen frequented the site of their city for generations before the first English settler arrived. Having collected all the scraps of evidence that he could find, the author has made the most of them to piece out his interesting story. Beginning with 1615 when Brulé parted from Champlain, he says that Brulé must have crossed the "Toronto Carrying-Place". Then come the visits of such as Peré, Joliet, Hennepin, and La Salle. Sometimes the evidence is clear; sometimes the benefit of a doubt is accorded. Of the author's new contributions, perhaps the most important is his proof that there was a trading post at Toronto much earlier than has been supposed; but the only evidence for his date, 1720, is the phrase "a little after" the building of the Niagara fort in that year. He also corrects the tradition about Fort Rouillé.

Not being a trained historian, the author trips when he wanders afield, as he frequently does. He speaks of collecting peltries after 1673 from the south side of Lake Ontario where, two pages later, he admits there were none. He accepts Frontenac's excuse as the real reason for encouraging the Sulpicians. His narrow interpretation of Sir William Johnson's efforts to control the fur traffic betrays ignorance of the problem facing the Indian superintendent. His explanation of the Quebec Act boundary provisions is open to serious challenge. Astonishing is the statement that "both sides tacitly agreed not to bring the Indians into the quarrel" between Britain and her colonies; the unreliable authority cited does not say so. The story of Carleton's escape from capture in the Three Rivers hostel is absurd. For biographical details of Frenchmen, the author has drawn heavily upon the learned M. Massicotte.

Unfortunately he had no such well of information for a knowledge of others. He knights Carleton before the king did, and he makes him governor-general more than a generation before the first governor-general was commissioned. He quotes a letter which he has not seen, or he would not have it addressed to "Lord Sackville, Secretary for the Colonies". He confuses the office of lieutenant governor with the position of administrator; he has Hamilton appointed lieutenant governor on Haldimand's departure in 1784 though Hamilton held that office from 1782, and he does not seem to realize that Hope remained lieutenant governor after Dorchester's arrival. He does not know that the chief justice referred to by Mrs. Simcoe in 1793 was Osgoode; he says it was Powell, who was not chief justice until 1816.

The University of Minnesota. A. L. BURT.

An Indian Preacher in England. Edited from the Originals by Leon Burr Richardson, Professor of Chemistry, Dartmouth College. [Dartmouth College Manuscript Series, No. II.] (Hanover, Dartmouth College Publications, 1933, pp. 376, $4.00.) This attractive volume contains the correspondence occasioned by the voyage to England of Nathaniel Whitaker and Samson Occom to collect funds for the benefit of Eleazar Wheelock's Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut. The letters cover a period in time of four years, 1764 to 1768. Of this period the mission to England and Scotland occupied approximately one-half. The enterprise was highly successful, procuring a fund of £11,000 which enabled Wheelock to expand his labors by the establishment of what became Dartmouth College.

The correspondence is, however, mainly concerned with the difficulties created by this mission to England. These difficulties originated in the problem of selecting suitable agents, in the friction with the Boston board representing the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and in the need for forming a trust in England to hold and administer the funds. The selection of Whitaker appears at times to have been singularly unwise; the mission may almost be said to have succeeded in spite of his tactless and contentious personality. Wheelock evidently lacked the ability to estimate correctly the characteristics of his associates. He misunderstood the mental pride of Occom and greatly overestimated the capacities of his son, Ralph.

The book bears every appearance of careful editing. Save for minor changes in the punctuation the letters have been printed "exactly as they were written". The introduction provides an instructive setting for an understanding of the involved personalities and issues. The explanatory notes are interesting and replete with relatively inaccessible information. The index is sufficiently detailed and adequate to gratify the desires of the research student. Such typographical errors as have been noted occur only in the

notes. The chief adverse criticism relates to the choice of title which creates hopes the letters rarely satisfy. Whitaker occupies by far the major part of the correspondence; the majority of the documents refer to him; more than four times as many letters are from his pen as from that of Occom. The racial traits of the latter are hidden beneath the manner of the typical Puritan divine.

This volume should appeal to many classes of readers, especially to those who are interested in Dartmouth College or in the educational and religious developments of the period. Moreover, all students of humanity will find amusement in one letter from Whitaker (p. 55) relative to his wife's attitude toward the proposed voyage.

Knox College. ALFRED W. NEWCOMBE.

The Susquehannah Company Papers. Edited by Julian P. Boyd. Volume IV, 1770–1772. [Sheldon Reynolds Memorial Publications.] (Wilkes-Barré, Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 1933, pp. xv, xxxvii, 392, $5.00.) The fourth volume of *The Susquehannah Company Papers* follows along the lines mapped out for the series with respect to peculiar format features and the inclusion of a valuable introductory essay. The main body of the book comprehends three hundred and five annotated documents drawn from a variety of sources which throw light on the movements of the company and its supporters, as well as those of its enemies, during the years 1770–1772. While the *Susquehannah Company Papers* suffer somewhat by comparison with some of the other recently published series of papers and documents, both with respect to format and other features that have to do with the making of a book that completely satisfies the critical standards of this age, this series, nevertheless, represents a contribution of unusual importance to American colonial history by a society local in its membership with no command of the resources of a great press.

Mr. Boyd is undoubtedly correct when he traces the new importance of the Susquehannah Company activities in 1770—following its failure in the sixties to make good its claims to northern Pennsylvania—to the alliance that it accepted with the Paxtang Boys of Lancaster County. However, a question may be raised as to the soundness of the view (pp. viii–ix), that it was a strange alliance between law-abiding New Englanders and lawless Scotch-Irish. For there seems to exist the best of evidence that both the leaders and the rank and file of the Susquehannah Company were closely identified with the Connecticut Sons of Liberty who set at defiance the lawfully constituted government of the colony in 1765 and 1766. It will be remembered that Major John Durkee of Bean Hill, who led the five hundred Sons of Liberty in 1765, also led the Connecticut people into the valley of the Susquehanna in 1768, to cite but one bit of evidence. Again, the town

of Windham was headquarters for both movements. According to Benjamin Gale, a contemporary, the same group in eastern Connecticut appeared in various guises: favoring the New Lights in religion, paper money in finance, and the Susquehannah and Delaware enterprises, and was in bitter opposition to the Stamp Act as Sons of Liberty.

Lehigh University. LAWRENCE H. GIPSON.

Louisiana in French Diplomacy, 1759–1804. By E. Wilson Lyon. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1934, pp. 268, $3.00.) This is an able study of highly complex diplomacy from extensive research, largely in the French archives, though some use was made of the Spanish. With rigid restriction to his central theme, the author shows the constant French interest in Louisiana, from the transference to Spain, through the French efforts to regain it, to the end of Napoleon's American colonial dream. He clearly portrays the French purposes of exploiting Spain, thwarting Britain, and befriending the United States.

Most interesting are the chapters showing Moustier and later French diplomatists in this country as protagonists of retrocession; the complicated maneuverings of the Directory, and the dramatic suspense of the winter of 1802–1803, which saw the blocking of Napoleon's Louisiana expedition by ice and by the British ships in the Channel. Reasons for the ultimate sale are explained as the failure to acquire Gulf ports for Louisiana by obtaining the Floridas for Spain, the Santo Domingo debacle, and the desire to strengthen the potential support of the United States against England. Boundary problems receive slight attention.

Two conflicts appear with Professor Whitaker's Retrocession of Louisiana in Spanish policy (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX, 454–476). The latter argues that Godoy from 1795 to 1800 consistently favored retrocession of Louisiana; but to note that he was willing to draft an impossible treaty trading it for Santo Domingo in 1795, or for Gibraltar in 1796, hardly seems to prove the point. Professor Lyon asserts Godoy's determination at that time not to dismember the empire. On the other hand, this book's statement that Napoleon's initiative reopened the Louisiana dickerings in 1800 indicates oversight of the Hervas mission, previously sent to Paris by Spain, described by Professor Whitaker. Neither historian answers the question suggested in Professor Whitaker's France and the American Deposit at New Orleans (*Hispan. Am. Hist. Rev.*, XI, 485–502): Did Napoleon when he decided to sell Louisiana know of Spain's restoration of the right of deposit? Talleyrand's self-contradiction on the point leaves its possible influence on the French decision a puzzle.

Footnotes are overabundant, and omission of certain details might have clarified the narrative; but compensation is found in the book's attractive set-

up. The bibliography would have profited by comment on Bécker's *Relaciones exteriores de España,* and by the inclusion of Mr. Hunter Miller's new treaty series, with its excellent explanatory notes.

Washington, D. C. PHILIP C. BROOKS.

Social and Economic History of the United States. By Harry J. Carman, Professor of History, Columbia University. Volume II, *The Rise of Industrialism, 1820–1875.* (Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1934, pp. x, 684, $4.00.) The author's preface announces this as the second of a proposed three-volume text dealing with the main social and economic tendencies in American life. The subtitle for this volume is *The Rise of Industrialism, 1820–1875.* The author's aims are described as: First, to indicate the nature of the forces responsible for transforming eighteenth century America into a new world where acquisitiveness and exploitation were accounted cardinal virtues (one may be permitted to interject a doubt whether these were really less the cardinal virtues of Benjamin Franklin's world); secondly, to show that the United States, instead of being highly unified and centralized, was sharply decentralized and sectionalized; and finally, to show how the clash of social and economic interests between these sharply differentiated sections led to the Civil War and to the triumph of the industrialized North. It seems to the reviewer that he has accomplished his purpose, and given advanced students a particularly good textbook treatment of a difficult period, notably temperate and fair in tone, and adequate in illustrative material. Whereas the earlier volume was criticized for its scant attention to agricultural history (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXVI, 646) this one has a long chapter on the Northern Farmer and gives liberal space to Southern agriculture and the slave labor system as applied to the staples, surely making thereby adequate amends for previous neglect.

E. J. B.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831–1860. Selected and arranged by William R. Manning, Ph.D., Division of Latin American Affairs, Department of State. Volumes III and IV, Central America, 1831–1860. Documents 723–1578. (Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1934, pp. xxv, 561; xlv, 993, $5.00 each.) The volumes of this series contain only a part—perhaps no more than half—of the materials preserved on the subject in the archives of the Department of State. Most of the documents relating to claims and commercial matters are excluded along with formal, polite, and perfunctory correspondence. The editor has felt this limitation to be necessary because of the immense quantity of materials involved, and his view is no doubt amply justified. But the researcher should not fail to keep this fact in mind. An exhaustive study of

the relations of the United States and any particular country of Latin America for the period cannot be made from this published correspondence. It will be necessary to go to the archives.

Nevertheless, the series is most useful. It has the advantage of availability and excellent editing. It should constitute the starting point for all research in the field, and the scholar should have it constantly at hand even during the later stages of his investigation.

The topics of greatest importance dealt with in the two volumes now being reviewed are: (1) Domestic turbulance and the breakup of the Central American union; (2) the character of the military and political leaders of the area during this early national period; (3) the attempts of the United States to encourage stability and union; (4) the raids of filibusters from the United States; (5) various negotiations regarding interoceanic communications across Nicaragua; and (6) the rivalry of the United States and Great Britain with reference to the area. Each volume is supplied with a good index and a list of documents.

Duke University. J. Fred Rippy.

The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859–1866. Edited by Howard K. Beale. [*Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, 1930, Volume IV.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1933, pp. xvi, 685, $1.50.) The Bates diary is not an easy-flowing journal, but a body of notes and intermittent jottings interspersed with clippings, pasted-in letters, broadsides, handbills, and miscellaneous material. Anyone who has seen the manuscript will welcome the orderliness of this admirable edition. Dr. Beale's editorial judgment and scholarly industry are revealed in the editing of the main text (a difficult task), the summarization of accompanying matter, the introduction, and the voluminous footnotes. The annotations (271 for the one year 1861) are of encyclopedic content, offering a wealth of supplemental matter and furnishing hundreds of thumb-nail biographies.

A moderate antislavery Whig of Virginia birth, prominent enough to have been offered the war portfolio under Fillmore, Bates seemed second only to Seward as a presidential possibility in 1860; but his strength failed to materialize in the convention, his nativism being such as to alienate the powerful foreign-born element. Keenly disappointed at Lincoln's nomination he thought his political life closed; but there was no one to whom Lincoln gave a Cabinet invitation so free from mental reservation as to Bates. As Attorney-General he gave counsel to Lincoln on important matters (though Lincoln did not always follow it), combatting radical measures, presenting a more than common example of personal probity, spurning private use of official knowledge, opposing military usurpation, coöperating with colleagues, and in general serving as a steadying force in the war

Cabinet. As to the contents of the diary it may be said that inconsequential entries constitute only a small fraction of the record, which runs the gamut of war problems, being especially revealing as to pre-war and wartime politics, the nominations of 1860, the crisis of 1860–1861, the Sumter question (on which Bates advised evacuation), legal issues, affairs in Missouri, and Reconstruction. Significant conversations with Lincoln are sometimes recorded (*e.g.*, pp. 164–167, 333–334); but Lincoln matter in the diary consists more especially of accounts of Cabinet business and shrewd comments on administration policy. The diary is notable for a certain tang and flavor and for impressions in passing, as when the diarist gives rumors of a senatorial scandal (pp. 245–246) or records the "suppressed sneer" on the countenance of Lord Lyons. The index by Mary Parker Ragatz is admirable; and the generosity of Miss Helen Nicolay, owner of the diary, in allowing full freedom of publication, deserves special recognition. Six letters of Bates published in the *Missouri Democrat* in 1865 are appended. Others from the Attorney-General's files might have been added; and it is to be regretted that the editor sought in vain to include an earlier portion of the diary itself (1846–1852), possessed by the Missouri Historical Society.

The University of Illinois. J. G. RANDALL.

Beaver, Kings, and Cabins. By Constance Lindsay Skinner. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1933, pp. 272, $2.50.) It is difficult to arrive at a fair evaluation of this volume without first ascertaining just what Miss Skinner's point of view was in writing it. This is not easy to do, nor is the reader assisted to any extent by the enthusiastic but misleading announcements emanating from the publishers. The scope of the book is extremely broad, and in one very modest-sized volume the author has touched upon many aspects of the fur trade, including its European backgrounds, the relations between early settlers and traders, international rivalries and diplomacy, and the results of the contact between white traders and Indians. Yet the material here presented cannot be regarded as an adequate historical survey of the history of the fur trade of North America, even after one has made all due allowance because of limitations of space. Though the narrative ranges over the whole continent, as well as certain of the adjoining waters, many matters of vital importance are omitted. There is no adequate treatment, for example, of the remarkable development of the British trade during the period from 1760 to 1815, which centered in Montreal. On the other hand, many things of doubtful relevance are included. The somewhat idyllic picture of Charles II and Nell Gwyn is a case in point! The style is frequently impressionistic and even imaginative, and the treatment of events tends to be discursive, leaving with the reader a blurred picture. Assuming that Miss Skinner intended to write a popular account, one should perhaps not be unduly critical of the

book because of these qualities. But anyone looking for a well-rounded but concise historical treatment of the fur trade will be disappointed.

The most valuable portion of the book is that which relates to the Hudson Bay country, for it is here that Miss Skinner is most at home. There are interesting descriptions of the fur-bearing animals of the region, of the natives and their habits, and of the Hudson's Bay Company traders themselves. Through personal contact the author has acquired an insight into the psychology of traders and Indians, which has enabled her to write understandingly of the relations between the two. Occasionally she gives us bits of Indian poetry remarkable for their literary quality. One wishes that she had confined herself to a description of the trade of this northern region which she knows so well, and that she had not undertaken a popular historical survey of the whole North American fur trade. By attempting to do both, she has produced a book of very uneven merit, and one which is rather vague and confusing on the historical side.

Dartmouth College. WAYNE E. STEVENS.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting of the Association will be held in Washington on December 27, 28, and 29. This would also be the fiftieth annual meeting were it not that the thirty-fourth, scheduled for December, 1918, had to be deferred because of a severe epidemic of influenza. The headquarters will be the Mayflower Hotel. The chairman of the program committee is Professor Samuel F. Bemis, who is able to announce the plan of the meeting although certain details are still subject to change. There are to be four general sessions. The first, on the afternoon of December 27 will have as its theme "Dynamics and History", with papers on Technology and History, Machines and Employment in History, and the Dynamic Interpretation of History. On the following morning the general subject will be "A Half-Century of American Historiography, 1884–1934", with papers on the historical work in the Middle Ages, in Modern European History, and in respect to The United States and its Colonial Background. Upon the evening of the same day there will be the third general session, with the theme "Philosophy and History". It was hoped that Senator Benedetto Croce, of Naples, could accept an invitation to be present and address the Association at this session. This has proved to be impossible, although it is understood that he will send a paper. The plan is now to invite others to take part by papers or in the discussion. The luncheon meeting of December 29 will also be treated as a general session for the discussion of the Report on the Social Sciences in the Schools.

Other sessions will be devoted to the more usual fields of study: Ancient History; the British Empire (Canada as the Vestibule of Anglo-American Relations); Modern European History; Hispanic American History; Colonial History of North America; United States History; and Economic History. Joint sessions will be held with the History of Science Society, the Agricultural History Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and with State Historical Societies and Archivists. There will also be a joint session with the American Catholic Historical Society and the Society of Church History with the Development of Religious Liberty in Early America as the theme.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Mediaeval Academy of America will have dinner meetings. Luncheon meetings will be arranged for the Hispanic American group, the Bibliographical Society of America,

the editors of historical publications, those interested in the rehabilitation of historical sites, and the Agricultural History Society with Secretary Wallace as speaker.

On the final evening of the meeting there is to be a Founders' Dinner, in honor of the surviving founders of the Association: Clarence W. Bowen, Davis R. Dewey, Ephraim Emerton, J. Franklin Jameson, and Henry E. Scott. At this dinner President Roosevelt has consented to speak, unless emergency duties of a public nature forbid. Other speakers will be Dr. J. Franklin Jameson and Dr. Charles W. Colby. Dr. Waldo G. Leland will act as toastmaster.

The *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1932, Volume I, was published in August. Part VIII: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies has also appeared. It is *Educational Administration as Social Policy,* by Jesse H. Newlon.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIST OF RESEARCH PROJECTS

With the April number of this journal a report of the Executive Secretary on research projects appeared as a supplement. In the July number additions were made to the list. Further additions follow. It should be stated once more, as in the original questionnaire sent to universities and other institutions, that the list is not designed to include research works undertaken to satisfy the requirements of advanced degrees.

The additions now at hand are:

II. Ancient History

(c) Rome

Studies in the history of the fifth century A. D., with special reference to public opinion in the West. Prog. Eva M. Sanford, Western Reserve University.

VII. France

France under the July Monarchy. Prog. Frederick B. Artz, Oberlin College.

IX. Great Britain and Ireland

(b) Since 1485

Sir William Phips. Prog. Cyrus H. Karraker, Bucknell University.

XVIII. The United States

(8) Since 1782

Thomas Jefferson. Prog. Nathan G. Goodman, Philadelphia.

(11) Southern Colonies and States

The social order in ante bellum South Carolina. Prog. R. H. Taylor, Furman University.

Confederate courts and cases: a history of the Confederate States as seen through the department of justice, the military tribunals, and the

judicial courts, federal, state, and territorial; and through post bellum decisions at home and abroad. William M. Robinson, jr., Augusta, Ga.

History of the Confederate States navy. Prog. William M. Robinson, jr.

Commercial and industrial history of the Confederate States. Prog. William M. Robinson, jr.

A preface to privateering. Prog. William M. Robinson, jr.

(13) Texas and the Far West

The Sea-Dogs of Texas: the navy and letters of marque of Texas during the Republic. Fin. William M. Robinson, jr.

XIX. Canada

The paradox of Nova Scotia, 1760–1783 (the New England migration and the breach with New England). Prog. One year. J. Bartlet Brebner, Columbia University.

XX. America south of the United States

(2) Mexico and Central America

Antonio López de Santa Anna. Prog. W. H. Callcott, University of South Carolina.

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

The study of the Orient by Western scholars has hitherto been rendered difficult by the lack of adequate information respecting the results of research currently published in the Chinese, Japanese, and Russian languages. Since the major work in Oriental studies is being done by scholars to whom these tongues are native, obviously some channel by which it can be quickly conveyed to the Western scholar is necessary. For this reason two interesting experiments just undertaken are worth mention.

The National Library of Peiping, with the support of the Chinese Committee of the League of Nations Commission on International Intellectual Coöperation, has begun the publication of a *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography*. This periodical, of which the first number (in a Chinese, an English, and a "combined" edition) has just appeared, continues the work hitherto carried on, courageously but inadequately, by *Book News from China*, irregularly issued for the last few years by the Peiping Union Book Store. The editors of the new quarterly have undertaken to provide a most important tool in the implementing of Chinese studies, and, notwithstanding the modestly expressed foreword to the first number, they give every indication of doing the job well. The present number contains current bibliographies of books published in China, notes of scholarly organizations and undertakings, and special articles. Later numbers will emphasize the bibliographical sections at the expense of special articles; and it is to be hoped that a series of résumé bibliographical articles covering work in the separate fields will be published. The appearance of the first number coincided

happily with the visit of Dr. Tung-li Yuan, director of the National Library, to the United States in May. The editor of the new journal is Dr. T. K. Koo, at the National Library of Peiping, China.

Even more ambitious is the Japanese attempt to provide Western scholars with adequate information respecting the contributions of Japanese scholars in the Oriental field. This year has seen the organization in Tokyo of the Kokusai Bunka Shinko Kai (Society for International Cultural Relations). This institution, generously supported by the Japanese, has published, April, 1934, an elaborate program of activities, involving the production of translations, bibliographies, abstracts, handbooks, and other implements of study and research. Success with even a small part of this program will place Oriental studies in the West on an entirely new basis. Prince Fumimaro Konoye, president of the House of Peers, and Professor Masaharu Anesaki of the Tokyo Imperial University, both of whom hold high office in the new society, have recently visited America and consulted many American scholars with respect to future activities. Dr. Setsuichi Aoki is general secretary of the society; his address is 10 Marunouchi 3-chome (Naka 7-gokwan), Kojimachiku, Tokyo.

As yet no such formal and systematic arrangements provide exchange of information with Soviet scholars, though both the American Council of Learned Societies and the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, maintain constant informal contacts with scholars and learned organizations in the U. S. S. R., and are working as rapidly as possible toward the establishment of better facilities for such exchange.

PERSONAL

Zephyrin Engelhardt, the Franciscan missionary and historian, died on April 24 at the age of 82. His work among the Indians began in Wisconsin and was later carried on in California. Among his books are *The Franciscans of California* (1897), *The Franciscans of Arizona* (1899), and *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (4 vols., 1908–1916).

Herbert Adams Gibbons, historian and publicist, died on August 7 at the age of 54. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania in the class of 1902. His doctorate was taken at Princeton University in 1913. In the meantime he had been graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary and had taught history and economics for three years at Robert College, Constantinople. Here he devoted himself to the study of Turkish history, the fruit of which was his *Foundation of the Ottoman Empire: a History of the Osmanlis up to the Death of Bayezid I, 1300–1403* (1916). He also became a prolific writer and lecturer on the background of present conditions. One series of books began with *The New Map of Europe* (1914), and continued with *The New Map of Africa* (1916), *The New Map of Asia* (1919), and

The New Map of South America (1928). Among his other books was a life of *Venizelos* (1920). In 1919 he was Spencer Trask Lecturer at Princeton.

Wilfred Harold Munro, long a professor of European history at Brown University, and brother of the late Dana C. Munro, died on August 9 at the age of 84. He was a member of the class of 1870 at Brown. In 1889–1891 he took post-graduate work there and at the universities of Freiburg and Heidelberg. He began his work at Brown in 1891 as director of university extension courses and associate professor of history. In 1899 he was promoted to the chair of European history, which he held until his retirement in 1911. He wrote much on the local history of Rhode Island, especially of Bristol, his native city. He also edited a twenty-two volume edition of the works of William H. Prescott (1905, 1906).

Erwin F. Meyer, associate professor of history in the University of Colorado, died in Denver on June 17 at the age of 38. He was chiefly interested in fourteenth century English history, especially in economic and legal institutions, and wrote a number of articles on subjects within his field. His most extended piece of work was his *English Craft Gilds and Borough Governments of the Later Middle Ages* (1929). J. F. W.

Ernesto Quesada, the distinguished Argentine historian, publicist, and sociologist, died on February 6 at the age of 75. He was by training a lawyer, but his wide interests led him into the fields of history and sociology. He taught for a time at the University of La Plata, and in 1916 acted as visiting professor of Hispanic American history and economics at Harvard University. Among his books were *La Enseñanza de la Historia en las Universidades Alemanas* (1910), *La Época de Rosas* (1898, 1923), *Una nueva Doctrina sociológica, la Teoría relativista spengleriana* (1921), and *Kant y Spengler* (1924). Much of his later life was spent in Germany, where he took a deep interest in the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut. One of his latest works was in German, *Die Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Latein-Amerika und den Vereinigten Staaten* (1931).

Marion I. Newbigin, editor of the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, died on July 20. She was especially interested in the relations of geography and history, as those who have read her illuminating *Geographical Aspects of Balkan Problems* (1915) were made aware long ago. She was the author of many other volumes, including *Aftermath: a Geographical Study of the Peace Terms* (1920).

Cecil Headlam, the English historian, died on August 12 at the age of 61. He was educated at Rugby and at Magdalen College, Oxford. He wrote a number of volumes in the series of "Medieval Towns", published by J. M.

Dent, including the stories of Naples, Chartres, Nuremberg, and Oxford. He was one of the editors of the Colonial series of the *Calendar of State Papers*. He also edited *The Milner Papers* (2 vols., 1931, 1933).

Émile Bourgeois, the eminent French historian, died on August 25 at the age of 77. He was trained at the École normale supérieure. In 1885 he became Docteur ès lettres. His earlier work as a professor was at the universities of Caen and Lyons. He long held a chair of Modern history at the Sorbonne, and was also a professor in the École libre des Sciences politiques. His contributions to the history of France were notable, among them *La diplomatie secrète au XVIII^e siècle* (3 vols., 1909), and *Rome et Napoléon III: Étude sur les origines et la chute du Second Empire* (1907). The latter study was done in collaboration with Émile Clermont. Professor Bourgeois contributed a *History of Modern France* (2 vols., 1919) to the Cambridge Historical Series. He was also author of a *Manuel historique de politique étrangère* (4 vols., 1900–1926). With Louis André he compiled five volumes of *Les sources de l'histoire de France: XVII^e siècle, 1610–1715*.

To the list of fellowships granted by the Social Science Research Council and announced here last April should be added a fellowship granted to Associate Professor Walter A. Morton, for study in the United States and Europe of economic nationalism and internationalism.

The following appointments may be noted: *Beaver College,* Ruth L. Higgins as professor of history; *Colgate University,* Rodney L. Mott as director of the School of Social Sciences; *Carleton College,* Charles C. Mierow as professor of biography; *Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy,* Halford L. Hoskins as dean and professor; *Pennsylvania State College,* J. Paul Selsam for the year; *University of Redlands,* Earl Cranston as head of the department; *Scranton-Keystone Junior College,* Wilbur L. Williams as dean of instruction and chairman of the Social Studies Division.

The following promotions may be noted: *University of California,* Louis J. O'Brien to be assistant professor; *Colgate University,* E. Wilson Lyon to be professor; *Ohio University,* A. T. Volwiler to be professor; *Tufts College,* Ruhl J. Bartlett to be head of the department; *University of Wisconsin,* Chester V. Easum and Robert L. Reynolds to be associate professors.

Leaves of absence for the year 1934–1935 have been granted as follows: *Bucknell University,* Paul W. Gates for the first semester; *Indiana University,* P. W. Townsend for the first semester; *Pennsylvania State College,* A. E. Martin for the year; *University of Wisconsin,* Paul Knaplund for the first and Curtis P. Nettels and Chester V. Easum for the second semester.

Professor Clarence H. Haring, of Harvard University, lectured at Seville during the spring quarter. He also met a discussion group twice a week. The lectures were given at the Centro de Estudios de Historia de América.

Dr. Hajo Holborn, who has been Carnegie Professor in the Berlin Hochschule für Politik, is to be visiting professor of history at Yale University during the current year. Dr. Ernest Stein, formerly of the University of Berlin, is to be visiting professor of Byzantine history at the Catholic University of America.

Julian P. Boyd, who for the past two years has been director of the New York State Historical Association at Headquarters House, Ticonderoga, has resigned to become assistant librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Association has appointed as director Edward P. Alexander, who has specialized in New York history at Iowa State and Columbia universities.

At the annual meeting of the trustees of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Dr. William D. Overman was appointed Curator of History and Archivist.

Professor Marcus L. Hansen, of the University of Illinois, will give a course of eight lectures on the Commonwealth Foundation at the University of London. The series will be concerned with the history of American immigration.

Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society, who has been appointed a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation of New York, has left for England and France, where she will gather additional material for and write a joint biography of Radisson and Groseilliers. Mr. Charles A. Gates will be acting curator of manuscripts during Dr. Nute's absence.

GENERAL

General review: Franco Valsecchi, *Di alcune correnti della più recente storiografia tedesca* (Riv. Stor. Ital., Jan.).

In a volume entitled *En marge de l'histoire universelle* (La Renaissance du Livre, 1934, pp. xii, 303, 30 fr.) M. Henri Berr has brought together the prefaces which he has written for volumes in that part of the series called "L'évolution de l'humanité" which deals with the problems of history, the origins of mankind, the early civilizations, Greece, and the dawn of science. It is to be followed by a second volume, similarly constituted, treating Rome, the Celts and Germans, the peoples in the farther East, and the relations of Oriental and Occidental science. This happily inspired enterprise will not only provide us with a complete statement of the principles which have guided M. Berr in his great undertaking, but it will serve as a brief, comprehensive treatment of the salient lines in the evolution of humanity as noted by the distinguished author.

The *Revue de Synthèse* for June contains the inaugural lecture of M.

Lucien Febvre, delivered last December, upon his assumption of the newly created chair of the History of Modern Civilization in the Collège de France. M. Febvre entitled his discourse De 1892 à 1933: Examen de conscience d'une histoire et d'un historien.

The American Council of Learned Societies has issued as Bulletin no. 21 *A List of American Periodicals and Serial Publications in the Humanities and Social Sciences,* compiled by Dr. Leo F. Stock. Although this list is restricted to journals and periodicals published by learned societies and institutions, it is more inclusive than the list published in 1925 and issued in revised form in 1928. It mentions publications which appear irregularly if they belong to a group or series.

The American Council of Learned Societies announces the continuance of grants-in-aid and post-doctoral fellowships for the year 1935. Information concerning these grants may be secured from the office of the society, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C. All applications must be filed by December 15 next.

The Social Science Research Council has issued a *Decennial Report, 1923–1933.* It opens with an account of the steps which led to the organization of a council made up eventually of representatives of seven associations. To the promoters of the movement the problems of society calling for investigation seemed too many and too large to be studied effectively by the individual left more or less to the suggestions of his own zeal for inquiry and of his own analysis. The call was for a planned research, with committees, conferences, surveys. The rapidity with which the general outlines of the scheme were brought to substantial realization will in after days probably surprise the student who looks back at the phenomena of the postwar decade. This was partly due to the generous support granted by the great foundations. The report says that "As of June 30, 1933, the amount of all grants made from the beginning of the Council was $4,197,605.91". The report also contains the list of committees, with their personnel and a statement of their recommendations. There is also a list of fellows and of persons who have received grants-in-aid, with the lists of their publications. An examination of these lists shows how many sound pieces of research have been promoted, the results appearing in published books. For the next year the council announces two new types of fellowships: Pre-Doctoral Fellowships for Graduate Study, and Pre-Doctoral Field Fellowships. They will supplement the aid received from graduate schools, chiefly through scholarships limited to the grant of free tuition. There is an age limit, the first at twenty-five years and the second twenty-seven. The post-doctoral fellowships and the grants-in-aid are to be continued. Information about the terms may be had at the offices of the Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York City.

The Institute for Research in the Social Sciences of the University of Virginia has published through the Appleton-Century Company a careful survey of *Social Science Research Organization in American Universities and Colleges* (1934, pp. ix, 275, $3.00), prepared by Dr. Wilson Gee, who is director of the institute. It is based upon a personal study of eighteen such organizations and upon replies to questionnaires sent to 539 educational institutions. The results of the investigation are embodied in chapter 2, which by tables and summaries exhibits what is being attempted, and especially in chapter 3, entitled Case Studies. Here a detailed review is given of the work in universities and colleges.

The New York Public Library is making the interesting experiment of recording on films newspapers which may be of use to the future student and the preservation of which in their original form constitutes a problem of space. The experiment was begun with the New York *Sun,* February 1 to March 31, and the New York *Times,* February 7 to April 7, 1934. It is calculated that a file of the *Times* for a year would require about one-third of a cubic foot of film, while it occupies on the shelves 108 cubic feet.

The opening number of the Franco-American Pamphlet series, issued by the American Society of the French Legion of Honor, is an essay by Professor Harold A. Larrabee, of Union College, on *Joseph Jacques Ramée and America's First Unified College Plan.*

The Royal Historical Society has added a new class of members, to be called Associates, and who in each case are to be nominated by two Fellows familiar with the candidate's qualifications. The election in the first instance is for five years, and the fee is one guinea a year, which is one-half of the fee paid by Fellows. Associates receive the *Transactions* free of charge.

Special Supplement, no. 2, of the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research for June is made up of Part II of the Guide to the Accessibility of Local Records of England and Wales, giving a "Digest of the returns concerning the accessibility of records in the custody of the Inns of Court, Collegiate Churches, older educational foundations, repositories approved by the Master of the Rolls, and local societies in England and Wales".

The government of the Bombay Presidency will complete by the end of the present year the publication, begun in 1930, of 45 volumes of *Selections from the Peshwas' Duftar* (registers), edited by G. S. Sardesai, documents of the Maratha government from the archives of Poona, of great value to the history of India before British rule.

The Rise of Modern Europe, a series of twenty volumes under the general editorship of Professor William L. Langer, is announced by Harper and Brothers. It is expected to be comparable in scope and importance to the same

firm's *American Nation*. The emphasis will be not so much upon the addition of undiscovered facts in the modern field as upon interpretation of significant movements, the indication of trends in the economic, intellectual, and social life of Europe. The volumes will be illustrated. Two have just appeared: *A Decade of Revolution, 1789–1799,* by Crane Brinton, and *Reaction and Revolution, 1815–1832,* by Frederick B. Artz. The editor is to write the volume on *The Bourgeois Experiment, 1832–1852.* Three volumes will deal with the most recent history of Europe: *The Great Illusion, 1900–1914,* by Sidney B. Fay; *The World in the Crucible, 1914–1919,* by Charles Seymour; and *The New World, 1919–,* by William E. Lingelbach. In point of time a book by Professor E. P. Cheyney is to open the series, *Dawn of a New Era, 1250–1453.*

During the current month is to appear the first of the volumes of *The Oxford History of England,* edited by Professor G. N. Clark, of All Souls. In the order of time this will be one of the later volumes of the series, for its title will be *The Later Stuarts, 1660–1714.* It is expected that three more volumes will appear in 1935, of which one will be *The Early Stuarts,* by Godfrey Davies. Among the other authors are F. M. Stenton, F. M. Powicke, E. F. Jacob, and Basil Williams. In this work the attempt will be made to portray more adequately than has been the practice in such series the economic, intellectual, and social factors in the development of the country.

Professor G. M. Trevelyan's *History of England,* which appeared in 1926, is being added to "The Swan Library". Book I is entitled *The Mingling of the Races* (Longmans, Green, 1934, pp. 192, $1.35). This carries the narrative through the Norman Conquest.

The English Place-Name Society has issued Volume XI of their series. It is entitled *The Place-Names of Surrey* (Cambridge University Press, 21*s.*), and the authors are J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, and Arthur Bonner. This volume has a special interest because a part of Surrey is now included within the metropolitan area of London.

Apropos of the "Exposition de la Passion" at the Sainte Chapelle and at the Trocadéro the May number of the *Revue des questions historiques* is devoted to the Histoire de la Passion dans l'art français. Among the contributors of articles are Marcel Aubert and Paul Vitry of the Louvre, Max Terrier, of the Carnavalet, and Robert Brun, of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

With the publication of Vol. XL., no. 4, the *Annales de Bretagne* is to appear in two numbers or fascicles a year, in June and December.

Professor Otto Hoetzsch, editor of the *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte* has brought together ten of his essays in a volume entitled *Osteuropa und deutscher Osten* (Ost-Europa-Verlag). Several of them appeared

first in the *Zeitschrift.* They deal largely with the Russian and Polish factors in the situation and reveal the conceptions of Russian and Polish history which the author has reached in a lifetime of research. The final essay on Der deutsche Osten in Geschichte und Gegenwart Professor Hoetzsch has rewritten in order to interpret the newer position of the problem.

In *L'argent des principautés belges pendant le moyen âge et à l'époque moderne,* Joseph Nicolas has undertaken to define the various coins in use and to evaluate them in terms of modern money. He has performed the latter task with greatest success in connection with the coinage of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Namur, Berhin-Maguin, 1933, 2 vols., pp. 164, 167).

Professors R. V. D. Magoffin and Frederic Duncalf have added a textbook of *Ancient and Medieval History* (Silver, Burdett, 1934, pp. xviii, 860, xvi, $2.24) which, with Professor Carl Becker's volume, already published, constitutes a series. It is well equipped, with suggestions for further study and selected readings. The illustrations are especially effective.

Papers and articles written by the late Reginald Lane Poole, chiefly since 1916, have been edited by his son, Austin Lane Poole, and published by the Clarendon Press under the title of *Chronology and History.*

Articles: H. J. Fleure, *Prehistoric Elements in our Heritage* (Bull. John Rylands Library, July); Walter Goetz, *Weltgeschichte* (Arch. f. Kulturgesch., XXIV, no. 3); Roger V. Shumate, *The Political Philosophy of Henry Adams* (Am. Pol. Sci. Rev., Aug.); John Saltmarsh, *Hand-List of the Estates of King's College* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, June); S. Castel, *Brest: Étude de géographie urbaine* [IV, V] (An. Bretagne, XL, no. 4); Herbert Wright, *Catholic Founders of Modern International Law* (Rec. Am. Cath. Hist. Soc., June).

ANCIENT HISTORY

There are summary reports of recent finds in the Near East in the *Archiv für Orientforschung,* IX, nos. 1–4; and one by G. Contenau for western Asia, 1931–1933, in the *Revue archéologique,* April; also an archæological bulletin in the *Revue des études grecques,* March. One should note also G. Bagnani, Gli scavi di Tebtunis (*Aegyptus,* Mar.); E. F. Schmidt, Tepe Hissar Excavations, 1931 (*Museum Jour.,* University of Pennsylvania, XXIII, no. 4); E. Dhorme, Le palais de Jezebel (*Rev. Arch.,* June); C. W. Blegen, on Troy, 1933, W. A. Campbell on Antioch on the Orontes, and G. E. Mylonas on Hagios Kosmas (*Am. Jour. Arch.,* June); J. H. Schmidt, on Ctésiphon, 1932–1933 (*Syria,* XV, no. 1); N. Vulic, on the archaic acropolis of Trebenischte (*Rev. Arch.,* Apr.); E. P. Blegen, News Items from Athens (*Am. Jour. Arch.,* June); and L. Robert on a tour of exploration in northern Anatolia (*Rev. Arch.,* Apr.).

There is a bibliography of papyrological publications during 1932–1933 relating to Græco-Roman Egypt in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology,* June. B. D. Merritt has published the inscriptions from the Agora excavations in *Hesperia,* III, no. 1. Note also Inscriptions of Thasos by M. Launay, and inscriptions of Erythrae, Aeolis, Chios, and notes on Hellenistic epigraphy by L. Robert (*Bull. Corr. Hell.,* LVII, no. 2); the continuation of the same author's studies in Greek epigraphy (*Rev. Philol.,* July), and P. Collart on the inscriptions of Philippi (*Bull. Corr. Hell.,* LVII, no. 2).

Some studies of value to students of economic history are those of F. Petrie on Egyptian Shipping (*Anc. Egypt,* 1933, nos. 3–4); F. L. Griffith and Mrs. G. M. Crowfoot, on the early use of cotton in the Nile Valley, and G. A. Wainwright on the occurrence of tin and copper near Byblos (*Jour. Egypt. Arch.,* June); G. M. Harper, jr., Tax-collectors and their Relation to Tax-collection in Ptolemaic Egypt (*Aegyptus,* Mar.); M. Segre, Grano di Tessaglia a Coo (*Riv. Filol.,* June); W. H. Buckler, CIG 3304 Revised (a gild of flax-workers at Smyrna), in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* LIV, no. 1; L. Robert's remarks on food shortages and gifts of grain in cities of Asia Minor (*Rev. Arch., Apr.*); B. Hilliger on the copper currency of the late Roman period (*Numismatik,* II, nos. 5–6); and H. Comfort on Byzantine land-leases in Egypt (*Aegyptus,* Mar.).

On historical sources but of more literary interest are the following articles: M. MacLaren, jr., On the Composition of Xenophon's Hellenica (*Am. Jour. Philol.,* June); S. Peppink, De Diodori codice antiquissimo (*Riv. Filol.,* June); K. Ziegler, Plutarchstudien (*Rhein. Mus.,* LXXXIII, no. 3); L. R. Taylor, Varro's De Gente Populi Romani (*Class. Philol.,* July); E. Hohl, Zur Historia-Augusta-Forschung (*Klio,* XXVII, nos. 1–2).

In his *Philo Judaeus and the Roman Principate* (Bayard Press, Williamsport, Pa.) Sterling Tracy has given us a clearly and pleasantly written study of the reactions of a responsible Jewish leader to one of the pressing problems of his times: his position as a Jew and a member of the Jewish community of Alexandria, and of one of the communities of the Diaspora in relation to the Roman principate. The author penetrates the rhetorical form and the special pleading of the *In Flaccum* and the *In Gaium* to present a reasonable picture of the forces at work behind the Alexandrian riots of 38–41 A. D. and the subsequent troubles with Caligula. Philo's attitude toward Gaius however does not seem to be quite consistent even when full allowance has been made for the needs of his plea of the moment. But the author's analysis of the general situation and his emphasis upon the problems raised by the evident insecurity of Jewish privileges and upon Philo's general attitude of criticism toward the despotic exercise of imperial power make his work one of considerable value.

Le discours d'Hyperide contre Démosthène sur l'argent d'Harpale, by G. Colin (Annales de l'Est, Mémoires, no. 4, Les Belles-Lettres, 1934), is chiefly devoted to the task of reconstructing and translating the speech. Jensen's edition of 1917 has been used as a basis but all available evidence such as the fragments not preserved in the Harris papyrus, and material from the speech of Deinarchus for the same occasion have been used to determine the correct order of ideas, and to fill the lacunæ. A historical introduction resumes the conclusions which the author presented in the *Revue des études grecques* of 1925 and 1926. A final section on the art of Hyperides leads to some comment on the methods by which he gave good support to a dubious cause. For the author, contrary to the general view, holds that Demosthenes may have been guilty from patriotic motives of an act of political imprudence in borrowing twenty talents from the fund of Harpalus but was not guilty of the crime of receiving bribes. M. Colin's reconstruction of the speech against him deserves attention.

Articles: G. Bagnani, *Il primo intendente del palazzo Imenhotpe detto Huy* (Aegyptus, Mar.); R. Dussaud, *Quelques précisions touchant les Hyksos* (Rev. Hist. Religions, June); E. F. Weidner, *Die Feldzüge Samsi Adads V gegen Babylonien* (Arch. f. Orientf., IX, no. 3); C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Zur Erwähnung der Ionier in altorientalischen Quellen* (Klio, XXVII, nos. 1–2); E. Gjerstad, *Cilician Studies* (Rev. Arch., June); F. Miltner, *Die dorische Wanderung* (Klio, XXVII, nos. 1–2); R. Henning, *Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zu Herodot* (Rhein. Mus., LXXXIII, no. 3); B. D. Merritt, *Note on the Decrees of Callias* (Am. Jour. Phil., June); S. Dow, *The Lists of the Athenian Archontes* (Hesperia, III, no. 2); G. de Sanctis, *La Pace di 362–361* (Riv. Filol., June); W. W. Tarn, *The New Dating of the Chremonidean War* (Jour. Hell. Stud., LIV, no. 1); P. Roussel, *Un règlement militaire de l'époque macédonienne* (Rev. Arch., Apr.); J. M. Nap, *Zum römischen Rechtsgeschichte im dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Tijdsch. Rechtsgesch., XIII, no. 2); W. Sontheimer, *Der Feldzug Hannibals in Oberitalien bis zur Schlacht an der Trebia bei Livius und Polybius* (Klio, XXVII, nos. 1–2); S. Accami, *Decimo Bruto dopo i funerali di Cesare* (Riv. Filol., June); C. H. V. Sutherland, *Aspects of Roman Imperialism in Roman Spain* (Jour. Rom. Stud., XXIV, no. 1); P. Roussel, *Un syrien au service de Rome et d'Octave* (Syria, XV, no. 1); T. Corbishley, *Note on the Date of the Syrian Governorship of Marcus Titius* (Jour. Rom. Stud., XXIV, no. 1); R. Syme, *Galatia and Pamphylia under Augustus: the Governorships of Piso, Quirinius, and Silvanus* (Klio, XXVII, nos. 1–2); J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Notes concerning the Principate of Gaius* (Jour. Rom. Stud., XXIV, no. 1); E. Wolff, *Das geschichtliche Verstehen in Tacitus Germania* (Hermes, LXIX, no. 2); J. A. O. Larsen, *The Position of Provincial Assemblies in the Government and Society of the Late Roman Empire* (Class. Philol., July);

J. R. Palanque, *Sur la politique religeuse de Constantin* (Rev. Études Anc., June); C. E. Van Sickle, *Eumenius and the Schools of Autun* (Am. Jour. Phil., June). T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY[1]

General review: Marc Bloch, *Les mutations monétaires et les dettes* (An. Hist. Éc. et Soc., July).

The Mediaeval Academy has published Volume II in its paleographical series called Studies in the Script of Tours. It is entitled *The Earliest Book of Tours, with Supplementary Descriptions of other Manuscripts of Tours.* The authors are Professor Edward Kennard Rand, of Harvard University, and Leslie Webber Jones, assistant professor in the College of the City of New York. It is divided into two parts, the second being devoted to the descriptions mentioned in the subtitle. Some of the chapters in Part I deal with the Paris Eugippius, the Different Varieties of Script, the Nature and Date of the Script, and the Development of the Pre-Caroline Minuscule. The price of the volume is $14.80 to members of the Academy, $18.50 in the retail trade.

A notable series opens with the publication of the first volume of *Codices Latini Antiquiores: a Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century* (Clarendon Press, 1934, 50*s.*), by E. A. Lowe, reader in palæography in the University of Oxford and associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. This volume forms Part I of the series, which will have ten parts and will cover the great collections wherever situated. It describes 117 manuscripts in the Vatican City. Of each manuscript a specimen is given in collotype, beautifully executed, with a detailed summary on the page opposite recording the characteristic features of the manuscript. Corresponding to the number of each summary is a paragraph in the bibliography furnishing all pertinent references. The general introduction offers other needed information. The work is edited under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale for the American Council of Learned Societies and the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The fifty-first volume of the Selden Society's series consists of a collection, from the Year Books, of *Select Cases in the Exchequer Chamber before all the Justices of England, 1377–1461* (Quaritch, pp. 397), edited by M. Hemmant, of great interest and value to students of the development of the common law.

The twenty-fifth volume of *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken,* published by the Prussian Historical Institute at

[1] Notes have been contributed to this and the following fields of general European history by G. C. Boyce, E. N. Curtis, W. T. Laprade, and L. M. Larson, as well as by others whose initials are appended.

Rome for 1933–1934, contains eight studies in medieval papal history. Of these, four deal with aspects of the recently much discussed period of reform, the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Carl Erdmann calls attention to the appearance of papal, as distinguished from church or Roman, banners at the investiture of Robert Guiscard and later, as definite symbols of the assumption of civil power. H. W. Klewitz assembles data illustrating the restoration of Roman ecclesiastical organization in Southern Italy under Roger I. Johannes Ramackers prints a letter of Benedict IX to Archbishop Poppo of Trier and a charter of Gregory VII to the Flemish house of Watten. Of most immediate value is Karl Jordan's expert survey of papal finance during the period, the meager and unsystematic character of revenues before Gregory VII, his own indifference to financial considerations and the influence of Cluniac efficiency on the institution of the office of papal *camerarius* under Urban II and his successors. The last four essays are studies of documents from the times of Alexander III to those of Martin V. Geoffrey Barraclough's reconstructed text of the Chancery Ordinance and Resolutions of Nicholas III should not be overlooked by students of Roman administrative procedure. L. R. L.

Haakon Shetelig's volume on Viking memorials (*Vikingeminner i Vest Europa,* Oslo, J. G. Tanum, 1933) is a study primarily of survivals in the Norse and Danish settlements in Western Europe. The materials were first given in a series of lectures before the institute for the comparative study of culture (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning) in Oslo and the volume is published by that foundation.

Isis for July contains the Thirty-Ninth Critical Bibliography of the History and Philosophy of Science and of the History of Civilization, to September, 1933. This bibliography refers especially, though not exclusively, to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Medievalists will be interested in the appreciative survey of the life and work of the late Cardinal Ehrle, S. J., written for the *Catholic Historical Review,* July, by Raphael M. Huber.

Het Ligurische Erfrecht in de Nederlanden, Deel II, *Het West-Vlaåmsche Erfrecht,* by E. M. Meijers (Haarlem, Willink and Son, 1932, pp. 142, 12.75 fl.), is the second installment of a work on the customs regulating inheritances in West Flanders, the region lying along the North Sea from the mouth of the Schelde River and, including Bruges and Ypres, stretching westward past Calais and the county of Guisnes. Besides presenting a carefully documented introduction, Professor Meijers has printed a number of documents illustrating his theme as it concerns a large number of communities. A map greatly facilitates their use. H. S. L.

Articles: Birger Nerman, *Svenska Vikingekolonier vid Östersjön*

[Swedish Viking colonies in the Baltic area] (Nordisk Tidsskrift, 1934, no. 3); Karl Kaiser, *Die isländische Saga* (Nordische Rundschau, 1933, no. 4); Herbert Grundmann, *Die Grundzüge der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsanschauungen* (Arch. f. Kulturgesch., XXIV, no. 3); J. Loth, *Le monachisme irlandais et le monachisme britton* [cont'd] (An. Bretagne, XL, no. 4); S. Hellmann, *Das Fredegarsproblem* (Hist. Vierteljahr., XXIX, no. 1); Bernhard Stasiewki, *Die ersten Spuren des Christentums in Polen: Ein Beitrag zur Erfassung der ältesten slavischen Zustände* (Zeitsch. f. Osteur. Gesch., IV, no. 2); P. Kehr, *Ueber die Sammlung und Herausgabe der älteren Papsturkunden bis Innocenz III, 1198* (Sitzungsber. der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, 1934, VIII-X); Percy E. Schramm, *Die Krönung bei den Westfranken und Angelsachsen von 878 bis um 1000* (Zeitsch. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechgesch., Abt. XXIII, 1934); Augustin Fliche, *La primatie des Gaules depuis l'époque carolingienne jusqu'à la fin de la querelle des Investitures, 876–1121* (Rev. Hist., Mar.); Gaston Zeller, *Les rois de France candidats à l'Empire* (*ibid.*, Mar., May); Geoffrey Barraclough, *Bernard of Compostella* (Eng. Hist. Rev., July); E. M. Meyers, *Les glossateurs et le droit féodal* (Tijdsch. Rechtsgesch., XIII, no. 2); Alexandre Eck, *La situation juridique de la femme russe au moyen âge* (Rev. Hist. Droit Fr. Étr., Jan.); Felix Fellner, *The "Two Cities" of Otto of Freising and its Influence on the Catholic Philosophy of History* (Cath. Hist. Rev., July); Bernhard Schmeidler, *Die Bedeutung des späteren Mittelalters für die deutsche und europäische Geschichte* (Hist. Vierteljahr., XXIX, no. 1); A. De Regibus, *Le contese degli Angioini di Napoli per il trono di Ungheria, 1290–1310* [I] (Riv. Stor. Ital., Jan.); K. A. C. Creswell, *The Foundation of Cairo* (Bull. Faculty of Arts, Univ. Egypt, Dec.); George H. T. Kimble, *The "Ne plus ultra" of the West African Coast in the Middle Ages* (Mariner's Mirror, July); Paul Schmitthenner, *Lehnskriegswesen und Söldnertum im abendländischen Imperium des Mittelalters* (Hist. Zeitsch., June); Harold Steinacker, *Der Streit um das österreichische Privilegium Minus und die methodische Lage in der Diplomatik* (*ibid.*); T. A. M. Bishop, *The Distribution of Manorial Demesne in the Vale of Yorkshire* (Eng. Hist. Rev., July); William A. Morris, *The Date of the 'Modus Tenendi Parliamentum'* (*ibid.*); E. Weigand, *Neuere Forschungen zur byzantinoslavischen Kunst der Balkanländer* (Byzant. Zeitsch., XXXIV, no. 1); Gaillard Lapsley, *The Parliamentary Title of Henry IV* [I] (Eng. Hist. Rev., July); E. F. Jacob, *Sir John Fortescue and the Law of Nature* (Bull. John Rylands Library, July)

Documents: W. H. Waters, ed., *Account of the Sheriff of Caernarvon for 1303–1304* (Bull. Board Celtic Stud., May); Maurice Coens, ed., *La vie de Christian de l'Aumône* (An. Boll., LII, nos. 1, 2); Paul Peeters, ed., *Les Khazars dans la passion de S. Abo de Tiflis* (*ibid.*).

FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

Hitherto histories of royal houses have been considered mainly as opportunities for sensational tales. It is a satisfaction therefore to find that in *Les Valois: Histoire d'une maison royale, 1328–1589* (Hachette, 50 fr.), Gaston Dodu has given us a study which is based on the documents in the case and which aims to portray the character of this famous house, so often caricatured by the romancers, and thus to establish the true measure of its influence.

In his *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense concilium,* Von der Hardt published two important documents, whose authorship has been long disputed: *De modis uniendi ac reformandi Ecclesiam* and *De difficultate reformationis in concilio universali. De modis* was composed in 1410 with reference to the council of Pisa; another version circulated among the members of the council of Constance in 1415. The author of the 1410 document has for some time been recognized as Dietrich von Niem, a distinguished protagonist of the conciliar theory. Hermann Heimpel has reached the conclusion that the two versions derive from a common original of which the *De difficultate* was a part. By an ingenious use of various types and parallel columns he has reconstituted the probable original under the title *Dialog über Union und Reform der Kirche* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1933, pp. xxxii, 120). The work is indispensable for the history of ideas during the early fifteenth century.

The volume entitled *Cartulaire de l'Église Saint-Lambert de Liége,* by Edouard Poncelet, conservateur honoraire des archives de l'État, tome VI [Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'histoire] (Maurice Lamertin, 1933, pp. xxix, 488), is the sixth and concluding installment of the vast task, undertaken by S. Bormans and E. Schoolmeesters, of sources relating to the history of the great church of St. Lambert of Liége. The first volumes (1893–1900) contain documents in full from 826 to 1389, carefully edited and provided with helpful notes. The fifth by M. Poncelet presents summaries of about 13,500 documents covering the years 1390 to 1797, the dissolution of the episcopal state of Liége. The sixth, provided with a brief introduction, analyzes a number of documents missed in the previous volumes and the texts of others deemed essential for the history of St. Lambert. The publication of this last volume brings this important undertaking to a happy conclusion. H. S. L.

A local study of value for our knowledge of the origins of the Reformation has been made by J. Götz under the title *Die Primizianten des Bistums Eichstätt aus den Jahren 1495–1577: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Klerus in der Reformationszeit* (Reformationsgesch. Studien und Texte, vol.

LXIII; Münster, Aschendorff, 1934, pp. viii, 120). From archival lists of 440 new priests, the author has been able to present a picture of the age, education, character, etc., of a typical group of German clergymen and to discover how many passed over to Protestantism.

In the great collection known as "Deutsche Literatur", in the section for the Reformation, Professor Arnold E. Berger has edited a volume entitled *Satirische Feldzüge wider die Reformation.* This naturally follows the same editor's *Die Sturmtruppen der Reformation,* published in 1931. It includes Thomas Murner's *Von dem grossen Lutherischen Narren* (1522) and Daniel von Soest's *Gemeine Beichte der Prädikanten von Soest* (1539). Because of the length of Murner's satire only about two-fifths is reprinted, although the notes embody comments on the whole. The editor accepts the suggestion previously made that Canon Jasper van der Borch was the writer of what appeared under the name of Daniel von Soest. The two works included were chosen from all the literature of defense on the ground that they better than others possess lasting literary value.

Sources important for one phase of the Reformation are brought together by Karl Schornbaum, of the Nuremberg archives, in the second volume of *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer,* which concerns the movement in Brandenburg (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1934, pp. vii, 375, 24 M.). The first volume, which dealt with Württemberg, appeared in 1930. The two belong to the general series of Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte. In the present volume, for reasons of economy, only the more important documents are printed textually, the others are calendared.

Following the movement begun by Münzer and Hausmann, the municipal councils of certain Saxon cities expelled the monks in 1525 and 1529. The episode is minutely described from the archives by F. Doelle's *Reformationsgeschichtliches aus Kursachsen; Vertreibung der Franziskaner aus Altenburg und Zwickau* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1933, pp. xxiv, 300).

Professor A. J. Grant, author of *The French Monarchy, 1483–1789,* has written a volume on *The Huguenots* for the Home University Library.

Two notable books have signalized in France the commemoration of the discovery of Canada by Jacques Cartier in 1534. The first is by Charles de La Roncière, the historian of the French marine. It is entitled *Jacques Cartier et la découverte de la Nouvelle France* (Plon, 15 fr.). The second is *Vue générale de l'histoire du Canada* (Hartmann, 20 fr.), by Firmin Roz, who is director of the Canadian House at La Cité universitaire de Paris. To this M. Charléty, of the Institute, has added a preface.

As T'ien-Tse Chang, the author of *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644: a Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources* (Leiden, Late E. J.

Brill, 1934, pp. viii, 157), remarks, "The trade between the Chinese and the Portuguese in history is a subject which, in spite of its importance, has been thus far [largely, but by no means wholly] neglected". To fill the supposed gap, Dr. Chang has pursued his researches not only in China, but in Holland, Spain, and the United States. Not the least valuable section of the study is the preliminary sketch of the maritime trade of China from the Han period to the arrival of the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century. Points of outstanding interest discussed in the work as a whole are the transfer, in the fifteenth century, of the collection of tariff duties from the central to the provincial governments; the critical analyses of Pinto's story of the massacre of Portuguese at Ningpo in 1542, and of the origins of Macao—the author inclining to Semedo's account; and the depicting of the concatenation of incidents and circumstances leading to the decline of Macao in the seventeenth century. An otherwise, for the most part, competent survey of the rise and fall of Portuguese influence in the Far East is marred by an inadequate and inaccurate discussion of Portuguese-Spanish relations with Japan.

H. F. MacN.

Articles: Philip Ainsworth Means, *Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisco de Orellana* (Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev., Aug.); E. G. R. Taylor, *Early Empire Building Projects in the Pacific Ocean, 1565–1585* (*ibid.*); Helen E. Sandison, *Ralegh's Orders once more* (Mariner's Mirror, July); Ray Heffner, *Essex, the Ideal Courtier* (E. L. H., Jour. Eng. Lit. Hist., Apr.); Halvdan Koht, *Artikelen om Noreg i den danske handfestinga frå 1536* [the article relating to Norway in the Danish royal charter of 1536] (Hist. Tidsskrift, Norwegian, 1934, no. 1); Henri Hauser, *Les caractères généraux de l'histoire économique de la France du milieu du XVI^e siècle à la fin du XVIII^e* (Rev. Hist., Mar.).

Documents: A. F. Pollard and Marjorie Blatcher, eds., *Hayward Townshend's Journals* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, June).

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

General review: Georges Pagès, *Histoire de France de 1660 à 1789* (Rev. Hist., Mar.).

Vol. VII, *Histoire économique, Histoire administrative* (pp. xx, 452, 35 fr.) has been added to the series on the seventeenth century, 1610–1715, which is the third part of *Les Sources de l'histoire de France*. The author is Louis André and the publisher is Auguste Picard.

Vol. VI of the *Surrey Quarter Sessions Records: Order Book and Sessions Rolls, 1659–1661*, compiled by Dorothy L. Powell, edited by Hilary Jenkinson, and issued under the auspices of the Records and Ancient Monuments

Committee, is like its predecessors of great interest in the study of social conditions in the locality and period.

Barlow's Journal of his Life at Sea in King's Ships, East and West Indiamen and other Merchantmen from 1659 to 1703, transcribed from the original manuscript by Basil Lubbock (2 vols., Hurst and Blackett), reveals the human incidents in seafaring at the time rather than information of use to the substantial historian.

The Court of Taunton in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: a Study of the Legal and Social History of Taunton under the Tudors and Stuarts, by R. G. Hedworth Whitty (Taunton, Goodman and Son), is a short monograph dealing with the composition, functions, and decline of the earlier local courts of that borough.

Louis Batiffol, who writes with authority on the early seventeenth century, is the author of *Richelieu et le roi Louis XIII: Les véritables rapports du souverain et de son ministre* (Calmann-Lévy, 15 fr.).

The Home University Library has added a volume on *Louis XIV,* written by David Ogg, already favorably known for his work on *The Seventeenth Century.*

An important addition to the growing body of literature dealing with Gustavus Adolphus and his times is an academic dissertation prepared at Uppsala by Einar Wendt on the tariff system in Prussia in the period 1627–1635. Wendt shows how the Prussian customs revenues fell into the hands of the Swedish government, how the Swedes organized the revenue system, and how much it meant for the Swedish exchequer (*Det svenska licentväsen i Preussen, 1627–1635,* Uppsala, 1933, pp. 268).

Die estländische Ritterschaft und ihre Institutionen, by Hanno von Wedel, is a brief account of the Estonian aristocracy and its changing fortunes in the eighteenth century (Ost-Europa-Verlag, 1934, pp. 200).

A fairly comprehensive account of Anglo-Russian relations in the seventeenth century has been published by Ina Labimenko under the title *Les relations commerciales et politique d'Angleterre avec la Russie avant Pierre le Grand* (Champion, 1934, pp. 330).

The Oxford University Press is issuing in six volumes George Birckbeck Hill's *Boswell's Life of Johnson,* revised and enlarged by L. F. Powell. The new edition incorporates the fruits of recent discoveries and scholarship.

The first fascicle of the *Cahiers de la Révolution française,* published by the Centre d'études de la Révolution in Paris, includes the following studies: La Révolution française et les paysans, by Georges Lefebvre; La question du

pain à Paris à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle, by Léon Cahen, and Babeuf et le babouvisme, by G. Bourgin.

Emile Gabory has added another to his able and interesting volumes on the Vendean struggle. It is entitled *Les femmes dans la tempête: Les Vendéennes* (Perrin, 15 fr.).

The Librairie Plon continues its wise policy of republishing well-known works, or selected portions, adding them to its Bibliothèque historique. Three recent publications are: *Un grand marin: Tourville,* by Emmanuel de Broglie; *Un ministère de défi: La Révolution, procès des ministres de Charles X,* from the memoirs of Chancellor Pasquier; and *Guerres de la Révolution,* from the series by Arthur Chuquet. The price of each is fifteen francs.

Articles: Albert Girard, *Note sur les consuls étrangères en Espagne avant le Traité des Pyrénées* (Rev. Hist. Mod., Mar.); H. Traut, *Gustav Adolf und Frankfurt a. M.* (Arch. f. Frankfurts Gesch. und Kunst, Folge 4, Band 4, 1933); John W. Draper, *Court vs. Country in Shakespeare's Plays* (Jour. Eng. and Ger. Philol., Apr.); H. N. Mukerjee, *Elections for the Convention and Cavalier Parliaments* (Notes and Queries, June 9, 16); Nino Valeri, *Un rivoluzionario del settecento: Pietro Verri* [I.-concl.] (N. Antol., May 1, 16, June 1, 16, July 1, 16); A. Florovskij, *Palladij Rogoskij: Eine Episode aus der Geschichte des Katholizismus in Moskau Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Zeitsch. f. Osteur. Gesch. IV, no. 2); Robert Stupperich, *Peters des Grossen Aufenthalt in Greifswald im Jahre 1712* (*ibid.* no. 3); R. S. Crane, *Anglican Apologetics and the Idea of Progress, 1699–1745* (concl'd, Mod. Philol., May); W. T. Whitley, *A Baptist Governor of Madras in 1716* (Baptist Quar., July); Johannes Metzler, *Der norwegische Konvertit Johann Daniel Ramus, S.J., nach ungedruckten Quellen* (Arch. Hist. Soc. Iesu, July); L. Stuart Sutherland, *Lord Shelburne and East India Company Politics, 1766–1769* (Eng. Hist. Rev., July); Berger Evans, *Dr. Johnson's Theory of Biography* (Rev. Eng. Stud., July); B. B. Thomas, *The Old Poor Law in Ardudwy Uwch-Artro* (Bull. Board Celtic Stud., May); Charles Ruellan, *Un gentilhomme industriel au XVIII[e] siècle, le Comte de Broglie* (Rev. Hist. Dipl., Apr.); A. Meynier, *Sur les origines intellectuelles de la Révolution française, d'après un ouvrage récent* [by Daniel Mornet] (Rév. Fr., Jan.); Yvonne Forado-Cunéo, *Les ateliers de charité pendant la Révolution* [II] (*ibid.*); T. d'Auriac, *Un savant émigré* (Rev. Études Hist., Apr.); L. Mirot, *La vie religieuse après la Terreur* (*ibid.*); Earl H. Pritchard, *The Struggle for the Control of the China Trade during the Eighteenth Century* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Sept.).

Documents: H. Lemoine, ed., *L'origine du club des Jacobins, d'après un document nouveau* (Rév. Fr., Jan.).

HISTORY SINCE 1800

General review: Crane Brinton, *The History of Paper Money to the War* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Sept.).

John Holland Rose's *Life of Napoleon I* has reached an eleventh edition. It includes a new appendix giving "Napoleon's Dicta on Men and Affairs, Government and Policy, War and Peace".

The political history of Denmark since the close of the Napoleonic period has been traced in a useful popular manual by Povl Engelstoft and Franz Wilhelm Wendt. While the authors call their account a political history, the circumstances of political development has compelled them to give considerable attention also to social history (*Haandbog i Danmarks politiske Historie fra Freden i Kiel til vore Dage,* Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1934).

A. Dresler, author of *Die faschiztische Presse,* continues his useful publications on Italian journalism with a *Geschichte der italienischen Presse; I. Teil: Von der Anfängen bis 1815* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1933, pp. xi, 173) and a bibliography of 165 items published in Rome from 1531 to 1757; the bibliography bears the title *Ueber die Anfänge der römischen Zeitungspresse* (Munich, pp. 71).

A Roumanian author, G. I. Bratianu, in *Napoléon III et les nationalités* (Droz, 1934, pp. 148, 12 fr.), has discussed the extent to which the French emperor carried his sympathy with the national movement. In 1859–1860, during the Italian war, the author argues, and again in 1863, during the Polish insurrection, the French could have anticipated some of the plans realized at Versailles, but failed to seize the opportunity.

The book by Sir J. A. R. Marriott entitled *Modern England, 1885–1932* (Methuen) is the final volume in the series edited by Sir Charles Oman.

Sir George Arthur in *Queen Alexandra* (Chapman and Hall) tells the story of the life of the first Queen Consort the English people had a chance to know and love after the time of George III.

In the series of lectures published under the auspices of the Carnegie-Lehrstuhl für Aussenpolitik und Geschichte an der Deutschen Hochschule für Politik at Berlin, nos. 4, 5, and 6 are: *Spanien seit der Revolution,* by Professor Herbert von Beckerath, of the University of Bonn; *Die Mittlerstellung der Niederlande zwischen West- und Mitteleuropa,* by Professor Johan Huizinga, of the University of Leiden; and *Internationale Politik als Wissenschaft,* by Professor Alfred Zimmern, of Oxford University.

De Fire Onde Aar [the four evil years] is the suggestive title of a series of papers recounting and discussing the experiences of the Danish population in South Jutland (North Slesvig) during the World War. The volume

is edited by Ingeborg Thomsen and Svend Thorsen (Copenhagen, G. E. C. Gad, 1933).

The history of the Liberal party in Norway (*Venstre i Norge*, Oslo, Olaf Norlie, 1933), by Jacob S. Worm-Müller, Arne Bergsgård, and Bernt A. Nissen, is more than a mere party history, since the authors found it necessary to take into account the entire political development of the nation during the past two generations. The Liberals are this year celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the triumph of their party in the early eighties, and the new history was prepared as a contribution to those festivities.

The second volume of Dr. Christopher Addison's *Four and a Half Years: a Personal Diary* (Hutchinson) covers the two years 1917–1919. During the first six months the author was Minister of Munitions; for the next eighteen he was Minister of Reconstruction.

Vol. XXXIV of the *Bulletin de la Commission historique du département du Nord* (Lille, Émile Raoust, 1933, pp. 391) contains the proceedings for the years 1929–1932. These will be read with interest because of the evidence they present of an earnest effort to preserve important historical monuments which survived the invasion of 1914. Among the other contents is the first supplementary list of these monuments in the department, bringing to date the list published by Max Bruchet in 1922.

Those who work in the Russian field will find an invaluable instrument in *Die Sovet-Union, 1917–1932* (Ost-Europa-Verlag, 1934, pp. xii, 204, 4 M.), edited by Klaus Mehnert, with the aid of thirty-five collaborators. It is a systematic bibliography of the German works on the subject, with critical comments on the volumes listed. That a volume of two hundred pages is required for the purpose, even after a careful sifting process, shows how extensive the literature has already become. A section is devoted to "Hilfsmittel", and this includes besides dictionaries and manuals magazines and reviews that are especially devoted to the field. There are two supplementary sections enumerating thirty-six English works and thirty-eight French. There is an author index.

The volume by Dr. J. L. Hammond on *C. P. Scott of the Manchester Guardian* (Bell, 12*s.* 6*d.*) deals with one of the longest and most influential editorships on record, for Scott joined the staff of the paper in 1871, becoming its editor a year later, and retired only in 1929. The biography is also in a sense the history of the *Manchester Guardian* in a most influential period.

Dr. Harold M. Vinacke's *A History of the Far East in Modern Times* [Revised Edition] (Crofts, 1933, pp. xiv, 503, $6.00) has been used so widely since its first appearance five years ago, and proved so popular that a revised edition is amply justified. A number of alterations have been made, some

chapters rewritten, and titles added to the bibliographies, so that the book is once more brought down to date and certain of the errors discovered in the earlier edition corrected. In its character, however, the work is essentially unchanged and remains primarily an account of the political and diplomatic phases of the history of the Far East during the last hundred years. K. S. L.

The 1934 edition of the *Political Handbook of the World* (Harper, for Council on Foreign Relations, pp. 202, $2.50), edited by Walter H. Mallory, emphasizes again a shifting scene, for under countries like Austria and Germany, the changes by comparison with the edition of 1933 are striking. Indeed there have been major changes in Austria since the end date of the 1934 volume. It is needless to emphasize the utility of this manual.

Articles: M.-L. Blumer, *La commission pour la recherche des objets de sciences et arts en Italie, 1796–1797* (Rév. Fr., Jan.); H. Beeley, *A Project of Alliance with Russia in 1802* (Eng. Hist. Rev., July); L. Lévy-Schneider, *Questions de méthode, à propos des témoignages de Caulaincourt sur Napoléon* (Rev. Synthèse, June); C. Vidal, *Le royaume de Naples et la monarchie de juillet, 1830–1835* (Rev. Hist. Diplomatique, Apr.); P. Ostrouchov, *Der Jahrmarkt zu Nižnij Novgorod in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Zeitsch. f. Osteur. Gesch., IV, no. 3); N. B. Lewis, *The Abolitionist Movement in Sheffield, 1823–1833: with letters from Southey, Wordsworth, and Others* (Bull. John Rylands Library, July); W. O. Henderson, *The Zollverein* (History, June); Ernst Schüle, *Die Verhandlungen zwischen Russland und Frankreich vor dem italienischen Kriege 1858/59* (Zeitsch. f. Osteur. Gesch., IV, no. 2); Jonas A. Jonasson, *The Background of the Riel Rebellions* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Sept.); Hans Hallmann, *Methoden Paul Cambons: Ein Blick in die Vorgeschichte der Entente* (Hist. Zeitsch., June); J. A. Spender, *King Edward the Seventh* (Yale Rev., summer); Leopold Freiherr von Chlumecky, *Franz Ferdinands Aussenpolitik* (Berl. Monatsh., June); Viktor Bibl, *Œsterreich-Ungarns innenpolitische Lage bei Ausbruch des Weltkrieges* (*ibid.*, July); R. B. Mowat, *Quinze années de politique française* (L'Esprit International, July); Brian Tunstall, *Naval Operations* [apropos of the British official history] (History, June); B. J. Hovde, *Notes on the Effects of Emigration upon Scandinavia* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Sept.); Joseph V. Fuller, *The Genesis of the Munitions Traffic* (*ibid.*); John Frödin, *Les plans parcellaires: Plans cadastraux et répartition du sol en Suède* (An. Hist. Éc. et Soc., Jan.).

Documents: S. T. Bindoff, ed., *Lord Palmerston and the Universities* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, June); Frank E. Manuel, ed., *An American's Account of the Revolution of 1848* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Sept.); G. Mollat, ed., *Les débuts de l'occupation française à Rome en 1849* [concl.] (Rev. Hist. Ecclés., July); *Notes extraites des mémoires d'un diplomate russe, M. Michel de Bartholomei* (Rev. Hist. Dipl., Jan.).

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

General review: P. Barret, *Bibliographie américaniste* (Jour. Soc. des Américanistes, XXV, no. 2).

Recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress include: additional papers of Thomas Lee Shippen, 1759–1797, consisting of personal account books; forty-seven letters and papers relating to Patrick Henry, 1762–1801; account books of Phineas Brown, 1785–1816, of Callender Irvine, commissary general U. S. A., 1817–1822, and of the Elk Mills in Maryland, 1820–1830; thirteen letters from William Berkeley Lewis to Andrew Jackson, 1833–1845; five letters of Robert Anderson, 1858–1861; papers of the family of Robert E. Lee, Custis, and Mason (deposit, restricted); letters of Rufus McIntire to John Holmes, 1813–1815; additional papers of Thomas F. Bayard (restricted); letter books of Charles F. McKim, 1891–1910; papers of Rounsevelle Wildman, consul at Hongkong, 1898–1900, and Edwin Wildman; a collection of posters, broadsides, and pamphlets relating to French political parties; and the usual consignments of photocopies from London, Paris, and Seville.

To the series of Franciscan Studies have been added as Nos. 12 and 13: *The Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States,* by Theodore Roemer, O.M.Cap., Ph.D., and *The Franciscan Père Marquette: a Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membré, O.F.M., La Salle's Chaplain and Missionary Companion, ca. 1645–1689,* by Marion A. Habig, O.F.M., A.M. Both are issued under the imprint of Joseph Wagner, New York.

H. M. Stationery Office, London, has published a collotype facsimile of the *Olive Branch Petition, 8 July, 1775.* The original is preserved in the Museum of the Public Record Office. Copies may be had (65 cents) from the British Library of Information, 270 Madison Avenue, New York City. The reader of this petition cannot fail to be struck once more with the difference in attitude and tone between its terms and those of another famous document issued almost exactly a year later.

The Church Historical Society has issued as Publication no. VII an essay by Edgar Legare Pennington on *The Reverend Thomas Bray.*

Under the title *Lincoln esteemed Washington* (Seattle, Frank McCaffrey, 1933, pp. 57) Professor Edmond S. Meany has brought together the many references in Lincoln's speeches and other words to Washington, grouping them in brief sections following the course of Lincoln's career. The author has used as his frontispiece an especially attractive portrait of Lincoln made in 1860 and first made known in 1914.

The conditions under which many volunteer regiments of the Union Army were recruited, officered, and trained are again illustrated in a small

volume entitled *Colonel A. W. Gilbert, Citizen-Soldier of Cincinnati,* a publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. The editors are Professor William E. Smith and Ophia D. Smith, of Miami University. In addition to an autobiographical "Sketch" of Gilbert's early career, the volume contains his Civil War diary, from July, 1861, when his regiment, the Thirty-Ninth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, was organized, until October, 1862, when he was so badly injured in the Second Battle of Corinth that he was obliged to resign from the army. No one of the three leading officers of the regiment had had a day's military experience when they received their commissions. It was fortunate for them that the Confederates were also amateurs in the war game.

In a volume entitled *The Hard Winter Wheat Pools: an Experiment in Agricultural Marketing Integration* (University of Chicago Press, 1933, pp. 180, $1.50) Dr. Joseph G. Knapp, associate professor of Agricultural Economics, College of Agriculture and Engineering, University of North Carolina, has made a scholarly contribution to the agricultural history of the 1920's. He has sifted a mass of information, replete with propaganda from opposing interests, and has presented a candid picture of the evolution of the hard winter wheat pools during their twelve years of existence. Wheat pooling in the United States was first attempted in the Southwest in 1919 and is entirely a postwar development. These early steps toward a "planned agricultural economy" seem rather insignificant compared with the developments under the Agricultural Adjustment Program. Chapter IV treats of the legal status of pools and presents the unusual situation wherein legislatures and courts were not slow to establish legal sanctions to facilitate, or not to hinder, a new or rapid development. According to the author, the pools have played a significant part in building up a group solidarity among wheat growers who are in general cursed with individualism. The proportion of wheat production in Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Colorado, and Nebraska that has been handled by the pools has been relatively small; it amounted to 5.8 per cent (including optional pool wheat) for the 1930 crop, which was a higher proportion than in any previous year. The author has answered the many relevant questions relating to these problems, in so far as is possible from available information, not by giving short and easy answers but by presenting the evidence and discussing the probabilities. A. G. P.

Articles: William Northrop Morse, *Lectures on Electricity in Colonial Times* (New Eng. Quar., June); John J. Meng, *Abbé Bandol in America* (Cath. Hist. Rev., July); R. A. Humphreys, *British Colonial Policy and the American Revolution, 1763–1776* [Historical Revision, LXIX] (History, June); Max Savelle, *The Colonial Origins of American Diplomatic Policies* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Sept.); Julian P. Boyd, *John Sergeant's Mission to Europe for the Second Bank of the United States, 1816–1817* (Pennsylvania Mag.

Hist. and Biog., July); Broadus Mitchell, *Hamilton and Jefferson Today* (Virginia Quar. Rev., July); James Truslow Adams, *The Dilemma of Edmund Ruffin* (*ibid.*); Charles B. Murphy, *Samuel J. Tilden and the Civil War* (South Atlantic Quar., July); Jeannette P. Nichols, *John Sherman: a Study in Inflation* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.); Robert E. Albright, *Politics and Public Opinion in the Western Statehood Movement of the 1880's* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Sept.); J. Fred Rippy, *The British Bondholders and the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine* (Pol. Sci. Quar., June); John T. Ganoe, *Some Constitutional and Political Aspects of the Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Sept.); H. A. Hubbard, *The Arizona Enabling Act and President Taft's Veto* (*ibid.*); Malbone W. Graham, *Russian American Relations, 1917–1933: an Interpretation* (Am. Pol. Sci. Rev., June); Denna F. Fleming, *The Rôle of the Senate in Treaty-making* (*ibid.*, Aug.); Erwin Grane, *Forecasts of General Price Level in Retrospect, 1919–1931* (Am. Ec. Rev., June); Theodore C. Blegen, *Some Aspects of Historical Work under the New Deal* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.).

Documents: Fulmer Mood, ed., *A Bostonian sends News of the French in the Mississippi Valley* (*ibid.*); Walter Herbert Stowe, ed., *Letters of the Reverend Abraham Beach, D. D., 1768–1784* (Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church, June).

NEW ENGLAND

The Massachusetts Historical Society reports that the *General Index* for Volumes XLI-LX, being prepared by David Maydole Matteson, will probably appear in 1936. The next volume of the *Proceedings* (LXV) will contain the record for the years 1932–1933 and 1933–1934. It is hoped that publication will take place in 1935. Volume III of the *Winthrop Papers*, covering the years 1630–1634, may appear late in the same year. Volume XIV of the *Journals of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1736–1737*, has already been issued and Volume XV will be issued shortly. Dr. Clifford K. Shipton is continuing his work on Volume V of Sibley's *Lives of Harvard Graduates, 1701–1712*. Recipients of honorary degrees are being included. It is planned to continue these biographies, in accordance with the terms of the legacy of John Langdon Sibley, well into the nineteenth century, publishing a volume about every two years.

On May 1 Julius Herbert Tuttle, librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the past fifteen years, presented his resignation. The council of the society in resolutions adopted at the time the resignation was accepted, testified to their appreciation of the high character and the great length of his service. The resolution went on to say: "No member who has ever made use of the facilities of the Society will need to be reminded of Mr. Tuttle's unfailing courtesy and helpfulness. Only our senior associate, Mr. John T.

Morse, jr., can remember Mr. Tuttle's first coming into the service of this Society on January twenty-first, 1878, when he was not yet twenty-one years old. To all other members, our Librarian has seemed an inseparable part of this institution. . . . He was already a veteran in the office of Assistant Librarian when the Society moved into this building in 1899. . . . Thus his brain is still the best catalogue of the manuscripts the Society possesses."

Among the recent accessions to the manuscript collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society are: Various Winthrop papers, 1614–1710; letters of the Saltonstall family, 1644–1821; journal of the Reverend Ebenezer Parkman, of Westborough, of several dates in the years 1742, 1749, and 1755. Rare items added to the library are: *The Present State of New England, Faithfully composed by a Merchant of Boston* (London, 1676); three imprints of the Reverend Benjamin Wadsworth, two of 1707 and one of 1716; and the second known copy (imperfect) of the *Catalogue of Harvard College, 1700,* made up of small triangular pieces which lined a patchwork quilt once owned by the family of Governor John Leverett. The other copy (perfect) is in the library of Harvard University. S. M.

Articles: Pierre Brodin, *Quelques aspects de la vie religieuse en Nouvelle Angleterre au XVII^e siècle* (Rev. Hist. Mod., Mar.); George Albert Stead, *Roger Williams and Massachusetts* (New England Quar., June); Harold F. Wilson, *Population Trends in North-Western New England, 1790–1930* (*ibid.*); Edwin B. Hewes, *Nathaniel Bowditch, Supercargo and Mariner* (Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., July).

Documents: *Journal kept on the Quebec Expedition, 1759, by Ashley Bowen of Marblehead* (Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., July); Philip D. Jordan, ed., *Letters of Eliab Parker Mackintire, of Boston, 1845–1863, to the Reverend William Salter, of Burlington, Iowa* (Bull. New York Public Library, July, Aug.).

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has continued to make noteworthy additions to its manuscript collections, the most important of which in recent months is that of the General Daniel Parker papers, given by the Rawle family of Philadelphia. Numbering some 18,000 pieces, and relating chiefly to the War of 1812 and affairs of the War Department, this collection embraces a large number of letters of Thomas Jefferson (47), James Madison, John Armstrong, James Wilkinson, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, William Eustis, Winfield Scott, Thomas Pinckney, Henry Dearborn, Stephen Decatur, and James Monroe. Daniel Parker (1782–1846) became chief clerk in the War Department in 1810; consequently the bulk of the collection falls in the years 1808–1820 and relates chiefly to military affairs, although the

dates covered are about 1781–1848. Among the earliest documents is Dr. James Tilton's MS., "Plan for Conducting Military Hospitals" (1781). The collection embraces important material (including many confidential dispatches concerning the routine of the War Department, Indian affairs, land and naval operations, promotions, John Jacob Astor's part in the fur trade, etc.). Another noteworthy collection is that of Robert Henderson, a Philadelphia merchant, covering the dates 1784–1801 and including some 3000 business and personal in-letters, invoices, bonds, receipts, etc. Six folio out-letter books (1784–1798), an unusual personal laundry book with costs, and 16 MS. journals, daybooks, ledgers, inventories, etc. About 560 account books, journals, ledgers and record books (1832–1913) of the J. B. Lippincott and Company, publishers, have been received. Still other acquisitions are letters of the following: George Croghan (7); Simon Cameron (4); M. F. Maury (3); Robert Morris to John Brown, 1778–1781 (9); William Penn (6). An autograph collection including 229 letters and documents chiefly of Pennsylvania lawyers, congressmen, and governors has been received. J. P. B.

Professor Philip Auchampaugh, whose intimate studies of James Buchanan have been noted in these pages contributes to the July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* an article on James Buchanan, the Squire in the White House. It is mainly an assembly of pen sketches, some by friends, some by enemies, and one at least by a neutral—the squire himself.

The Pennsylvania Historical Association held its second annual meeting on May 4 and 5 at Harrisburg, at which a well diversified and timely group of papers and reports were presented. Much interest was evinced in the papers on the various phases of the CWA survey of source material on Pennsylvania history within the state. The 200 workers on this survey uncovered hitherto unexplored and unknown treasures, the cataloguing of which is being prosecuted in the office of the state archivist. Other subjects of examination and reinterpretation were Pennsylvania and the Revolution, Lafayette, early cultural groups in Pennsylvania, early criminal codes, and the history of education in Pennsylvania. Professor E. P. Cheyney's charming discussion of "Things which have survived", showed the historical scholar at his best in a world of turmoil. The association is on firm financial standing, having secured over 300 members in the first year of its existence and is already making its contribution through the pages of its quarterly magazine, *Pennsylvania History*, edited by Dr. A. C. Bining. P. W. G.

The spring *Bulletin* of the Friends' Historical Association recounts the celebration on May 19 of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Newtown. One of the papers read concerned the Indians of Bucks County two hundred

and fifty years ago, by Sarah Gilpin Underhill. A tablet marks the site of Playwicky Indian Town and the sale of land to William Penn by the chief, Tammany.

The Delaware County Historical Society has embodied in a well-printed memorial volume the addresses and programs which, as the title explains, were a part of *The 250th Anniversary of the First Arrival of William Penn in Pennsylvania.* It also included papers which appeared in the *Bulletin* of the Friends' Historical Association in the autumn of 1932. There are many interesting illustrations, one of the Pusey House, built in 1683.

Among the more important bodies of material acquired by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania in recent months may be noted a collection of about 750 letters received by John Covode, congressman from Westmoreland County, during the years from 1850 to 1870; a collector's collection of account books and papers relating to business enterprises, personal affairs, and other interests of residents of the Ligonier Valley in the years 1819 to 1875; an extensive body of office records, correspondence, and miscellaneous papers of James Rees and Sons Company, boat and engine builders of Pittsburgh, covering the years 1856 to 1931; a bound file of the *Westmoreland Democrat* (Greensburg), 1866–1905, and photostatic copies of issues of the *Mirror* (Erie), 1808, and of the *Somerset Whig,* 1818–1820; and a varied collection of Pittsburgh theater handbills, 1869–1871. The centennial of the organization of the first historical society known to have been formed in Pittsburgh was celebrated at a dinner in February, and in July the society and the summer session of the University of Pittsburgh conducted a historical tour to Bedford, the third in a series of similarly sponsored annual expeditions through parts of western Pennsylvania. The society has provided local headquarters for and has assisted with the planning, launching, and conduct, in Allegheny County particularly, of the historical survey of Pennsylvania inaugurated as a CWA project by the Pennsylvania State Library and continued intermittently under changing designations and auspices. F. F. H.

Articles: Byrle J. Osborn, *Governor Joseph West: a Seventeenth Century Forgotten Man* (New York Geneal. and Biog. Rec., July); Donald L. Kemmerer, *The Suffrage Franchise in Colonial New Jersey* (Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc., July); George Wheeler, *Richard Penn's Manor of Andolhea* (Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog., July); Harold S. Bender, *William Rittenhouse, 1644–1708: First Mennonite Minister in America* (Mennonite Quar. Rev., Apr.); Wilfred B. Kerr, *Fort Niagara, 1759–1763* (New York Hist., July); Hugh M. Flick, *The Council of Appointment* (*ibid.*); Randolph C. Downes, *Indian War on the Upper Ohio, 1779–1782* (Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag., June); Summerfield Baldwin, *The Pennsylvania Argus:*

a Chapter in Westmoreland County Political Journalism (*ibid.*); Harry F. Landon, *Silas Wright as Governor* (New York Hist., July).

Documents: Frank Monaghan, ed., *Unpublished Correspondence of William Livingston and John Jay* (Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc., July).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

It may be expected that the Government Printing Office will publish, before the end of the autumn, the fourth and concluding volume of the *Records of the Virginia Company,* edited by Professor Susan M. Kingsbury of Bryn Mawr College. It will be a volume of somewhat more than 600 pages, and will present 204 documents, mostly of 1623 and 1624, with a few of 1625 and 1626. Much the greater number of them having never been printed before, the volume will be a most important source for early Virginia history.

Among the recent accessions to the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission two are of interest for the background of labor and agricultural problems of the present day. They are the Minute Book of the Raleigh Assembly of the Knights of Labor, 1886–1890, and about 1000 letters, fourteen record books, and ninety-three pamphlets of the North Carolina Farmers State Alliance, 1888–1920. Another outstanding addition is the W. Vance Brown Collection, including 700 letters, 1779–1895; John Strother's diary and field notes of the North Carolina-Tennessee boundary survey, 1799; fifty-eight volumes of diaries, of notebooks, and account books, 1794–1843, of John Brown, and of later members of the family. Substantial additions have also been made through the James Webb Papers, the Thomas M. Pittman Collection, and the John Vann Papers. A. R. N.

The *Proceedings* of the South Carolina Historical Association for 1934 include besides the record of the annual meeting the following papers: John Belton O'Neall, by James Welch Patton; The Rejected Laurens, by E. T. H. Shaffer; The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, by A. S. Salley; and The Grand Council of South Carolina, by Kathleen Singleton.

Articles: George C. Keidel, compiler, *Early Maryland Newspapers* [cont'd] (Maryland Hist. Mag., June); Gertrude Gilmer, compiler, *Maryland Magazines—Ante Bellum, 1793–1861* (*ibid.*); Howard R. Marraro, *Philip Mazzei, Virginia's Agent in Europe* [concl.] (Bull. New York Public Library, July); Edgar Erskine Hume, *Virginia's Lafayette* (William and Mary College Quar. Hist. Mag., July); *The Virginia Society of the Cincinnati's Gift to Washington College: Opposition to the Society of the Cincinnati* (Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog., July); Edward M. Holder, *Social Life of the Early Moravians in North Carolina* (North Carolina Hist. Rev.,

July); Peter S. McGuire, *Athens and the Railroads: the Northeastern Extension; the Macon and Northern; and the Georgia, Carolina, and Northern* [II] (Georgia Hist. Quar., June); Dorothy Dodd, *The Manufacture of Cotton in Florida before and during the Civil War* (Florida Hist. Soc. Quar., July); William A. Russ, jr., *Registration and Disfranchisement under Radical Reconstruction* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.); Helen F. Humphrey, *The Identity of Gladwin's Informant* (*ibid.*); Robert Dabney Calhoun, *The Taënsa Indians* [I] (Louisiana Hist. Quar., July); William A. Russ, jr., *Radical Disfranchisement in Texas, 1867–1870* (Southwestern Hist. Quar., July).

Documents: William Shepard, ed., *Tobacco Inspection at Cartersville, Cumberland County, Virginia, or Commonwealth vs. Dudley Street* [*1794*] [I] (William and Mary College Quar. Hist. Mag., July); Mrs. George P. Coleman, ed., *Randolph and Tucker Letters* [cont'd] (Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog., July); A. R. Newsome, ed., *Simeon Colton's Railroad Report, 1840* (North Carolina Hist. Rev., July); Mabel L. Webber, ed., *The Thomas Elfe Account Book, 1768–1775* [cont'd] (South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag., July); A. S. Salley, ed., *Col. Peter Horry's Order Book* [concl.] (*ibid.*); Mary S. Anderson, ed., *The Wallace Letters* [Letters, 1808–1814, of John Wallace, jr., written from Medford, Massachusetts, Boston, Liverpool, Savannah, and elsewhere] (Georgia Hist. Quar., June); Mark F. Boyd and Gerald M. Ponton, eds., *A Topographical Memoir on East and West Florida, with Itineraries of General Jackson's Army, 1818, by Captain Hugh Young* (Florida Hist. Soc. Quar., July); Percy L. Rainwater, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin G. Humphreys* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.); Wendell Holmes Stephenson and Edwin Adams Davis, eds., *The Civil War Diary of Willie Micajah Barrow* (Louisiana Hist. Quar., July); Albert Godfrey Sanders, *Documents concerning the Crozat Régime in Louisiana, 1712–1717* [concl'd] (*ibid.*).

WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1933 include besides the proceedings of the annual meeting the following papers presented at that time: Social Chicago Fifty Years Ago, by Henry Justin Smith; The Mormons in Illinois, by Harry M. Beardsley; The Struggle for the Charter of the Illinois Central Railroad, by Paul W. Gates, and The Authorship of General Orders Number 29, by Donald Bridgman Singer.

A Short History of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor, George Wahr, 1934, pp. viii, 157, $1.25), by Wilfred B. Shaw, aims to provide students and alumni with the essential facts in the development of the university. It is appropriate that the frontispiece is a photographic reproduction

from the bas-relief of President Tappan by Karl Bitter in Alumni Memorial Hall. The account of Tappan's stormy administration is sympathetic.

The State Historical Society of Iowa, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the establishment of civil government in Iowa, has published a revised and enlarged edition of Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, originally issued in 1902. The title of the new edition is *The Constitutions of Iowa* (pp. 382). Its purpose, as Dr. Shambaugh remarks in his preface, is to make "the history of the written Constitutions of Iowa . . . conveniently accessible to the citizens of the state". This practical intent illustrates a point made by Mr. Boyd in his article on another page of this journal.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has received two large collections of papers which throw light upon recent politics in Wisconsin. The first was accumulated during the career of the late Senator John J. Blaine, and was presented by Mrs. Blaine. The second collection is composed of the manuscripts preserved by Henry A. Huber, a distinguished and loyal lieutenant of the late Senator Robert M. La Follette. Mr. Huber had been lieutenant governor of Wisconsin during a long succession of terms and in the course of his public life had a wide correspondence particularly with progressive leaders all over the state. Both sets of papers are being arranged, but both will be under seal for ten years from the date of their donation. The society has also received from the Reverend John Jenny of Milwaukee a copy, in German, of a report on the Swiss colony of New Glarus, made by the Reverend Wilhelm Streissguth on September 12, 1850. The report was sent to the head of the commission in the canton of Glarus, Switzerland, under whose auspices the colony had been founded five years before. The original is in the cantonal archives. J. S.

Vol. XVII of the *Bulletin* of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, a notable contribution to the study of the historic weed, is entitled *Tobacco, Pipes, and Smoking Customs of the American Indians*. It is divided into two parts: I, the text (pp. 994) and II, plates, figures, and maps (257, 17, 19). The plates are not only surprisingly abundant, but are beautifully executed. The editors are S. A. Barrett and Ira Edwards.

The twelfth annual summer tour and convention of the Minnesota Historical Society on July 14, 1934, commemorated the centennial of the arrival of Henry H. Sibley and of the missionaries, Samuel and Gideon Pond, in Minnesota. Meetings were held at Fort Snelling, Mendota, Shakopee, and Lake Harriet and other places connected with the activities of Sibley and the Ponds were visited. The papers read included The Army and the Westward Movement of the Frontier, by Edgar B. Wesley, and American Indian Contributions to Civilization, by Everett E. Edwards. The society has

launched a "Minnesota Historical Survey and Inventory" as an SERA project. The work will include completion of the inventory of county and state archives which was left unfinished when the CWA activities were suspended; a survey of municipal archives; a survey of church records; the compilation of a list of Minnesota newspapers and of a union list of serials; indexing the society's picture collection by subject; transcribing, arranging, and repairing manuscripts; mending maps and newspapers; and arranging duplicates and documents. The society has received a large and important addition to the papers of Ignatius Donnelly. The papers recently received include diaries for the years from 1855 to 1900, notebooks for much of the same period, a notebook containing a description of Donnelly's visit to Minnesota in 1856, campaign and other political records, ledgers of Donnelly's private accounts, a daybook for the *Anti-Monopolist* covering the period from January, 1876, to May, 1877, address books of Minnesota friends and political supporters of Donnelly, and a large amount of correspondence. The society has in preparation a guide to the personal papers in its manuscript collection, which will be published in the near future. T. C. B.

The Seventy-third Congress provided by an act approved last March that the Oklahoma Historical Society should become the custodian of the records of Indian tribes now under the care of Indian agents or other authorities in Oklahoma. How important these records are is made clear by Grant Foreman in a *Survey of Tribal Records in the Archives of the United States Government in Oklahoma.*

The Forty-second Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society includes, in addition to the record of proceedings, two extended essays: How the Territory of Hawaii grew and what Domain it covers, by P. C. Morris, and Honolulu and Some New Speculative Phases of Hawaiian History, by J. F. G. Stokes. Judge F. W. Howay gives a brief account of The Ship *Eliza* at Hawaii in 1799.

Articles: Otto H. Rothert, *A History of the Filson Club, 1884–1934* (Filson Club Hist. Quar., July); George F. Milton, *Indiana in the Douglas-Buchanan Contest of 1856* (Indiana Mag. Hist., June); Carlton C. Qualey, *The Fox River Norwegian Settlement* (Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc., July); John F. McDermott, *The Poverty of the Illinois French* (*ibid.*); Earl J. Nelson, *Missouri Slavery, 1861–1865* (Missouri Hist. Rev., July); Jacob A. Swisher, *Some Historic Sites in Iowa* (Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol., July); Joseph Schafer, *Turner's America* (Wisconsin Mag. Hist., June); Grace Lee Nute, *Minnesota County Archives* (Minnesota Hist., June); Arthur J. Larsen, *Early Dakota Newspapers* (*ibid.*); George A. Root, *Ferries in Kansas: III, Blue River* (Kansas Hist. Quar., May); Richard Carroll, *The Founding of Salida, Colorado* (Colorado Mag., July); A. B. Bender, *Frontier Defense in*

the Territory of New Mexico, 1846–1853 (New Mexico Hist. Rev., July); Oscar O. Winther, *The California Stage Company in Oregon* (Oregon Hist. Quar., June); John M. Canse, *The Oregon Mission: its Transition* (Washington Hist. Quar., July); E. C. Magnusson, *Naches Pass* (*ibid.*).

Documents: *Diary of Thomas Woodward while crossing the Plains to California in 1850* (Wisconsin Mag. of Hist., June); W. S. Hoole, ed., *A Southerner's Viewpoint of the Kansas Situation, 1856–1857: Letters of Lieut.-Col. A. J. Hoole, C. S. A.* [concl.] (Kansas Hist. Quar., May).

CUBA, MEXICO, AND SOUTH AMERICA

The George Washington University Press has published the lectures delivered at the first of the Seminar Conferences on Hispanic American Affairs in August, 1932. Among the lecturers were Professors Mary W. Williams, J. Fred Rippy, Charles C. Tansill, Roy F. Nichols, and Dr. James A. Robertson. The title of the volume is *Modern Hispanic America* (1933, pp. ix, 630, $3.00). Professor A. Curtis Wilgus, director of the Center of Inter-American Studies at the university, is the editor.

The late Ernesto Quesada, whose death is noticed on another page, apparently at the wish of his deceased father, Vicente G. Quesada, an Argentine diplomat and scholar, gave his magnificent library of some 80,000 books, pamphlets, and manuscripts to the University of Berlin. That university made this gift the basis for the establishment of the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut.*

Gonzalo de Quesada y Miranda has edited Volume II of the *Papeles de Martí: Epistolario de José Martí y Gonzalo de Quesada* (Havana, Academia de Historia de Cuba, 1934).

A survey of Mexican journalism is furnished by Fortino Ibarra de Anda in *El periodismo en México* (Mexico, Mundial, 1934).

R. H. K. Marrett has published *Archeological Tours from Mexico City* (Mexico, American Book Store, 1934).

José de J. Núñez y Dominguez's *Martí en México* (Secretaría de relaciones exteriores, Mexico, 1934), traces the life of that Cuban hero during his sojourn in Mexico.

Nos. 60 and 61 of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* of Venezuela contains installments of indexes of documents in Venezuelan archives regarding the captaincy general of Caracas, and the Guipúzcoan Company, and publishes reports of military services to the Spanish government near the end of the colonial régime.

Ricardo R. Caillet Bois has reprinted from *Humanidades* (vol. XXIII), the article entitled Los Ingleses y el Río de la Plata, 1780–1806.

Articles: J. Fred Rippy, *The Great Decision* [of the South American leaders] (South Atlantic Quar., July); Reinhard H. Luthin, *St. Bartholomew: Sweden's Colonial and Diplomatic Adventure in the Caribbean* (Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev., Aug.); Osgood Hardy, *The Mexican Revolution and the Mexican Railroads* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Sept.); Ernest Gruening, *The Withdrawal from Haiti* (Foreign Affairs, July); Julio Meinville, *Rubén Darío* (Estudios, May); Cristóbal L. Mendoza, *Los antecedentes del Pan-Americanismo en Hispano América* (Bol. Ac. Nac. Hist., no. 66); Manuel S. Sánchez, *El primer libro editado en Venezuela* (*ibid.*); José Torre Revello, *Anónimos y Pasquines coloniales* (Nosotros, Mar.); A. de La Pradelle, *Le panaméricanisme à la conférence de Montevideo* (Rev. Droit Int., Mar.); J. S. Reeves, *The Montevideo Resolution on Codification* (Am. Jour. Int. Law., Apr.); L. H. Woolsey, *The Recognition of the Government of El Salvador* (*ibid.*); Gerardo Arrubla, *Ensayo sobre los aborígenes de Colombia* (Bol. Hist. y Antig., nos. 237–238); Rodolfo Oswaldo Rivera, *Francisco de Paula Santander, el hombre de las leyes* (*ibid.*); Mario Belgrano, *Valentín Gómez y Antonio José Irisarri* (Bol. Inst. de Investigaciones Hist., nos. 58–60); José T. Revello, *Juan de Solorzano Pereira, nuevos datos para su biografia* (*ibid.*); J. M. Sáenz Valiente, *Los Alcaldes de Buenos Aires en 1806* (*ibid*).

Documents: José S. Rodriquez, *Memoria relativa á la convención de Ocaña* (Bol. Ac. Nac. Hist., no. 66); Paul Roussier, ed., *Deux mémoires inédits des frères Massiac sur Buenos Ayres en 1660* (Jour. Soc. des Américanistes, XXV, no. 2); Pietro Tacchi Venturi, ed., *Nuove lettere inedite del P. Eusebio Francesco Chino* (Arch. Hist. Societatis Iesu, July).

W. S. R.

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